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MODERN AFGHANISTAN

BY THE
SIRDAR IKBAL ALI SHAH

LONDON
SAMPSON LOW, MARSTON & CO., LTD.

DEDICATED TO

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS

WALA HAZRAT
SIRDAR SHAH WALI KHAN

THE VICTOR OF KABUL

MADE AND PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN BY PURNELL AND SONS, LTD.
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PREFACE

ONE of the most notable features of Central Asia's contemporary history is the amazing progress which Afghanistan has made since the advent of the Nadir Shahi regime. The international significance of development there cannot be adequately comprehended without the study of the several phases through which the Afghans have passed within living memory.

In order, therefore, to provide a fairly full background, an attempt has been made in this book to include much, which ordinarily is not accessible to the students of Middle Eastern high-policies. To that much has also been added, to help the traveller, and for the knowledge of those desiring commercial or other dealings with that country.

For the development, which has already taken place in Afghanistan within the surprising short period of only ten years, none is deserving of higher praise than the late lamented Majesty Mohamed Nadir Shah Ghazi, whose personality towered above all in this respect in lonely splendour; yet the mantle of that great king does not fall unworthily upon the shoulders of the present lovable Afghan monarch. Also the selfless devotion to the national cause which characterises the services of the late king's three brothers should act as a worthy beacon to their countrymen. No Afghan can fully express his debt of gratitude to them.

Nor can I omit to mention in this regard the endeavours of other pillars of the Afghan State; one such

being H.E. the Sirdar Faiz Mohammed Khan, whose deep learning and statesmanship has been widely acknowledged by those who matter; and H.E. Ali Mohammed Khan—the Afghan Minister of Foreign Affairs,—who by his sheer brilliance of culture and unimpeachable integrity had added further lustre to the Afghan Foreign Office. With such and other men as these at the helm of affairs, Afghanistan marches on from strength to strength retaining her independent heritage, and helping to maintain that sobriety in Middle Eastern affairs, which alone can keep the peace in Asia. And, as to the Faqir; Urfi has said:

Tana - Kumtarzun - Watan - Joyannay - Rah - Gum - Kurdara.

Ein - Malamat - Buskay - Ma - Rahaywatan - Gum - Kurda - Aim.

SYED IKBAL.

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MODERN AFGHANISTAN

CHAPTER I

The Geography and History of Afghanistan

Geographically speaking, I would draw a close comparison between Afghanistan and Scotland. In both lands we find the centre of the country occupied by an agglomeration of mountain ranges shading away into hilly undulations which run down to broad, well-watered plains and wastes like Registan and Dashti-Margo. The climate, if rather warmer and more arid, is much the same, and the ancient mode of life in both countries—a clan system, governed by predatory chiefs—has eventuated in similar modern conditions and habits of thought.

Running right along the northern border of Afghanistan for a distance of 330 miles is a river which greatly affects the life of the entire country. This is the Oxus, or, to give it its modern name, the Amu Daria. It has its rise in the Pamir region, and falls into the Sea of Aral after running a course of more than 1,400 miles. It first impinges upon Afghan territory in the region of Wakhan, where travelling in its neighbourhood is of the most arduous description and is, indeed, dictated by the character of the season in which it is attempted. During the melting of the snows, which begins in May, the river is in flood, and this condition remains until the end of August, so that the best time of the year to explore its banks is from September to March.

Further to the west, as we advance to the Afghan districts of Rustak and Kataghan, the mountainous character of the country on either bank becomes less marked, many rivers from the Trans-Alai range join the broad stream of the Oxus, which adopts a more sinuous course, and fans out into tributaries. These waters are now entirely diverted to the fields by a process of semi-artificial irrigation or canalisation, by which over four thousand square miles of rich alluvial land are kept in tillage.

The lower reaches of this great river are muddy in the extreme, and, indeed, it has been calculated that nearly sixteen million tons of sedimentary matter constantly pass down to form its vast delta. The tendency of the Oxus is to press continually on its right or east bank, a deflection which is said to be due to the rotation of the earth round its axis from west to east, and the consequence is that the stream has turned from the Kungrad channel eastwards to the Taldik channel and thence to the Yani Su, which at present receives its main discharge. In fact, during the historical period it has twice oscillated between the Caspian and the Aral Seas. Its navigation has been the subject of much surmise since 1875, when a steamer succeeded in steaming up as far as Nukus. The Russian Government equipped a small flotilla, which still patrols it under Bolshevist auspices. The journey between Patta Hissar and Charjui takes from seven to ten days according to the size of the vessel.

One of the most striking and important districts in the north of the country is the Murghab Valley, close to the frontier. It is a mixture of desert and cultivated land, with here and there a village, and is fertile about

the river banks, but extremely unhealthy and the valleys are full of fever, which is unfortunately spread by the wide system of riparian irrigation.

The province of Herat is important because it touches the eastern borders of Persia, and was anciently one of the gateways by which the marvellous civilisation and art of that favoured land entered the Afghan region. Its capacity for production is somewhat restricted, and, although it has been called "Key of India", it is doubtful if it could maintain an army of 150,000 men, as some authorities have stated. But its strategic importance is scarcely to be underrated, for within its borders roads converge from the Caspian, Merv, Bokhara and India, through Kandahar. The Hari Rud river is its Nile, converting portions of what would have been an arid waste into a fruitful paradise. In the hot season it breaks up into long lakes fed by springs and subterranean watercourses. From its mud is built entirely the city of Herat, which lies in a hollow, and is surrounded by massive walls, and is capped by a vast and grim-looking citadel. The Herati is a peace-loving peasant, very different in temperament from the proud and militant Afghan, and his city is dirty if picturesque.

Between Kandahar and Herat one passes through a rich country. Kandahar is, of course, a point of great strategical importance, and is situated between the Argand and Tarnak rivers on a level and richly cultivated plain, and is strongly walled and defended by double bastions. The principal streets are wide and well built and flanked by trees, and the city is divided into districts which are occupied by the four principal tribes, the population in all amounting to about fifty thousand.

In recent years the place has prospered, as it has had little to disturb the even flow of its career. The wealthiest merchants are Hindus, who carry on a profitable trade with Bombay, via Shikarpur and Karachi, and import silks and other soft goods, leather and metal goods, and export goat's hair, camel's wool, preserved fruits, tobacco, horses and drugs to India and the Persian Gulf. Kandahar is, indeed, the most important trade centre in Afghanistan, and its customs and dues alone equal the revenue of the entire province. The climate is delightful in spring and winter, but in summer is almost unbearably warm, owing to the heat which radiates from the sandhills close to the city.

Westwards of the Kandahar region is that of Seistan, rich in political interest. Topographically it belongs to the watershed of Afghanistan, and its widespread area, situated on the borders of Afghanistan, Persia and Baluchistan, is drained by the Hamun lake, which is sometimes quite dry, at others an inland sea nearly a hundred miles long. Seistan has been divided into Seistan Proper and Outer Seistan, the former of which may be called Persian Seistan and the latter Afghan Seistan. Outer Seistan comprises the country along the right bank of the River Helmund from its mouth on the north to Rudbar in the south. The Helmund was made the frontier between Persia and Afghanistan in 1872, but since then it has changed its course, so that inextricable confusion has arisen. The Afghans, indeed, gained by the alteration in the river bed, and claimed that it formed the frontier.

The entire existence of Seistan depends upon irrigation, and, indeed, the canals which branch off from the Helmund throughout a great part of the area antedate

the Persian occupation. Provisions are cheap, wheat and barley are easily to be procured, and sheep and oxen are abundant.

The province of Kabul is very mountainous, but contains a large proportion of arable land, especially near the bases of the hills. Wheat and barley are the chief products, and constitute the staple food even of the poorest classes. But such grain as is grown does not suffice for the wants of the community, and cereals and rice have to be imported from Jellalabad and Upper Bangash. The Butkhak district is perhaps the most highly developed, agriculturally speaking, and a great deal of fruit is grown. During the summer a large proportion of the population dwell in tents. Cattle, camels, mules and horses are largely bred and traded to Turkestan, India and Khorassan.

The province of Badakhshan, in the extreme east of Afghanistan, is made up of lofty mountain ranges and deep rugged valleys, where there is little agriculture. The people are for the most part Tajiks. In winter the cold is severe, the mountain passes being blocked by snow and the rivers frozen over. There are, however, temperate zones in some of the more sheltered valleys, and the presence of considerable forests ensures a plentiful rainfall. The eastern portion of the country is, indeed, a sharp contrast to the western and more arid sphere. Badakhshan is rich in mineral resources, salt, sulphur, iron, lapis-lazuli, and the ruby being found, but these deposits are not worked regularly, nor in a modern way.

In the region of Wakhan, an alpine district of Badakhshan, hemmed in by lofty mountains, the people are mostly occupied in the patriarchal employment of

the shepherd and in keeping the flocks of yaks. The lowest hamlet in this district is 8,000 feet above sea-level, and the highest about 11,000 feet, yet it is found possible to grow scanty crops of barley, and there is plenty of grass of a kind for the flocks.

The province of Afghan Turkestan is, perhaps, one of the most important in the country, and is, indeed, equal to Herat or Kandahar. It has a number of flourishing industrial centres, among them Tashkurgan and Mazar-i-Sharief, a place to which the Russians have always attached much importance. From Tashkurgan caravans go to India and Bokhara. It is surrounded by a wall three miles in circumference and has about twenty thousand houses, each of which is surrounded by a mud wall of its own. The whole town is thickly planted with fruit trees, and through the middle of the streets run irrigating channels. There is a crowded bazaar, in which cattle, sheep, mules, goats and horses are sold, cotton goods and silk stuffs from India, and fruits and nuts from the countryside. The Hindus act as money-lenders and bankers, and extract exorbitant interest.

Balkh, a city of ancient fame, lies some fifty miles to the westward. The place, which once covered a circuit of nearly twenty miles, is now in a state of almost complete ruin. The whole of the northern half of the old city is one immense waste; the walls have been worn down into the most fantastic shapes by wind and weather, and the citadel is nothing but a mound. Balkh has, indeed, met the fate of Babylon and Baalbek. Beyond this venerable place the territories of a number of minor khanates begin, which have at times been Afghan, at others Bokharan. The population is a mixture of

divers races—Tajiks, Uzbeks, Persians, and Turkomans —who are only united in their faith, which is, however, divided in this district between the Sunni and Shiah sects. The Andkhui district is rendered fruitful by the Oxus, which is the source of extensive irrigation, but which is here undrinkable. Fruit, corn, rice and live-stock are raised in great abundance, and black lamb-skins are exported to Persia in large quantities, camels to the Trans-Oxanian regions, and fruit and cereals to the other provinces.

So far I have made no mention of Kabul itself. It is situated at the western extremity of a spacious plain, in an angle formed by two converging heights. It is about three miles in circumference, and is now unwalled. It extends a mile and a half from east to west and a mile from north to south. Hemmed in by mountains, it can develop towards Shirpur only, and it has long been a pet scheme of more than one recent Ameer to lay down the foundations of a new capital elsewhere, which would be worthy of the dignity and growing importance of the state. Indeed Abdur Rahman had planned such a city in the Chahardeh Valley to the west of Shere Darwaza, when the project was interrupted by his death. At present Kabul is a strange mixture of the new and the old. Mean and neglected in places, with rambling lanes and narrow, ill-paved streets, there is still a kind of tawdry magnificence about many of its ways and buildings. Handsome edifices are constantly being built, and frequently are abandoned almost as soon as completed. The modern palaces are fine, the Dil Khusha Palace, designed by a European architect, being especially so.

The bazaars of Kabul are in reality not so fine as

those of some other Afghan towns. The principal are the Shor, the Erg and the Darwaza Lahori. The Nakush Bazaar, or cattle market, is situated north of the Kabul river and the chief grain bazaars lie in the Tandur Sazi quarter, between the Shor Bazaar and the Darwaza Lahori. The great fruit market is in the Shikarpuri quarter, where the fruits for which Kabul is famous are exposed for sale. Nearly every department of merchandise has its special locality, shoes, meat, vegetables, copper, tobacco, arms, furs, and drugs, each being sedulously kept apart.

The extreme breadth of the country from north-east to south-west is about 700 miles; its length from the Herat frontier to the Khyber Pass approximately 600 miles; and the total land area is still somewhat indefinite, but for all practical purposes it is calculated to be between 245,000 and 270,000 square miles. Little or no attempt has ever been made at the census of the people, but known figures upon which much of the official work is understood declare the population to be about twelve millions. The largest Afghan towns have the following varying population: Kabul, 100,000; Kandahar, 60,000; Herat, 121,000; Mazar-i-Sharief, 46,000. The entire country is divided administratively into nine unequal parts. The five major provinces are those of Kabul, Kandahar, Herat, Mazar-i-Sharief and Kataghan-Badakhshan; while the four minor divisions are Jellalabad, Khost, Farah, and Maimena.

THE HISTORY OF AFGHANISTAN

As to the origin of the Afghans there seems to be much divergence of opinion. Professor Wilson, for

instance, believes that the inhabitants of Afghanistan prior to the Greek invasion were Hindus, and that on the decline of the Indo-Scythians, the Hindus were governing and inhabiting the country once again, till the Moslem wave reached beyond Persia and converted the people of Afghanistan to the faith of the Prophet of Mecca at the end of the seventh century. That, of course, is little better than a theory.

Inasmuch as no thorough research has been made about the Afghan history so far, even the legends might be given as a point of interest. Here is one about Ibn Yamin, or Qais, as he was said to be commonly known. He comes to the picture as the grandfather of Afghana, a legendary ancestor of the Afghans.

The story begins with Qais as a shepherd in the desert; his rather tall son, nicknamed Taweel sitting beside him. Taweel is sent out by his father to seek fresh pasture; and suddenly comes upon a man from the tribe of Lawee. The man is so impressed by the shepherd's son that he forthwith invites him to become the head of the Lawee tribe.

The men of the desert are not without the skill in magic, and the priest pours some oil over the head of Taweel, whereupon his hair curls up in the shape of a crown fit for a leader. He marries in the desert tribe and has a son, Afghana. How this Afghana comes to the mountains of Afghanistan with his father, is again lost in the mist of legend, not without adding that the tribe of Lawee was ultimately overpowered by a rival tribe and the shepherd had to flee for his life.

Further, although it is feeble historically, it has been mentioned that this shepherd, Qais, embraced Islam, and was renamed Abdul Rashid, so that when he dis-

tinguished himself in battle he was given the title of Pathan—meaning a rudder—"of the boat of Islam". Though thoroughly unreliable the story is recorded to incite the interest of serious students of pre-history in the realm of research in this neglected sphere of Eastern history.

Another account given by the Afghans about their ancestry, traces their origin from the Aryan race, which had Central Asia as the cradle of their race. One of the three sections of this race migrated south of the Oxus into the Afghan mountains; their route lying in the north at Bulkh. In the north west the point of entry was Herat. Later more and more came southward to Kandahar, also, westward, spread to Khorasan; and up again to Nuristan and Chitral.

They are said to have settled down in the deep Afghan valleys as agriculturists and flourished. Nothing is known of them prior to the tenth century B.C. Their language is described as one of the eight languages spoken by the Aryans, and they prayed either to pagan gods or the elements; but were always regarded as a fair-skinned race, and not a little warlike.

The antiquities of Afghanistan have been entirely neglected by historians and archæologists, chiefly because of the political upheavals which have disturbed that country, rendering it impossible to undertake the necessary local researches. Kabul, the capital of Afghanistan, possesses some of the oldest and most interesting relics of Greek art and civilisation in Asia. Fully two thousand years before Julius Cæsar brought his legions to Albion, Kabul had already figured in history. Ptolemy and other ancient geographers applied the term "Ariana" to a country lying between the Suleiman Mountains in the east and the great salt

desert of northern Persia in the west. It was bounded by Baluchistan in the south, by the Hindu Kush range with the Karabel plateau in the north. From these boundaries one may easily identify the country with modern Afghanistan with the addition of Khorassan, which now forms a province of Persia.

Ariana—ancient Afghanistan—was divided into three provinces: Drangiana, which occupied the whole of northern Afghanistan; Arachosia, the north-eastern portion; and Paropamisus, the valley of the Kabul river. The city of Kabul was called Ortospanum, Jellalabad, Plegerium Nagara, Kandahar, Gandhara, and Farah Phra. It is of interest to note that in the case of Gandhara, the only alteration in its form has been the change of "G" into "K", according to a well-known law of Semitic euphony. Indeed some people, to this day, call a Kandahari—one belonging to Kandahar—a Gandahari. Again, the Grecian name of the town of Phra has only been modified by replacing "Ph" by "F". The early history of Afghanistan is indelibly bound up with the conquest of Alexander. To several other cities in Central Asia and Afghanistan the great Hellenic conqueror gave his name. Herat, for instance, was called after him. The ruins of Opiane in the Kabul river valley can still be identified; even to Khojend, on the Jaxartes, the most remote of Alexander's conquests in Central Asia, are still situated the ruins of Alexander's Cyropolis.

Alexander entered Afghanistan from the north-west. Occupying Herat, now on the Perso-Afghan frontier, he directed his movements against the south-western regions of Afghanistan, capturing Farah, and marching up to Kandahar, and to Ghazni. Having thus encircled

Kabul, he reduced that town also. Most strategists are aware that whosoever is in possession of the Ghorband and Panjshair valleys, in the neighbourhood of the capital of Afghanistan holds the keys of Central Asia in his hands. Alexander made these valleys his bases, whence he could proceed to the conquest of Bactria and India.

Another locality which enshrines the memory of Alexander is the Kalif ferry over the Oxus in the north of Afghanistan. This point is still regarded as of great strategical importance, and in its immediate vicinity Russians and Afghans have clashed within quite recent times. The Afghan tendency towards hero worship has not failed to impart to the Kalif ford—Alexander's crossing point—a considerable degree of reverence. Indeed the local guide insists upon our believing that certain footprints in a rock beside the river were those of Alexander, who stood thereon whilst watching his legions crossing the stream.

At the death of Alexander the Greek Empire in the East soon broke up. His generals immediately divided it among themselves. Bactria was under Satrap Philip; Afghanistan under Strasanor and Sibertius; and India under Oxyartes, father-in-law of the dead leader. Discontent regarding the manner of apportioning the empire prevailed amongst these Greek generals, and after seven years' fighting, Seleucus emerged as ruler from "the Euphrates to the Oxus and Indus". But Seleucus did not realise the wisdom of Alexander regarding the natural strength of the Kabul valleys, and failed to retain them as military headquarters. The bases were abandoned, and India was bartered to Chandra Gupta for five hundred elephants. His

ambassador, Megasthenes, is known to have represented the Greeks at the Court of the Hindu emperor.

The history of those Greek kings who guided the destinies of early Afghanistan is a stormy one. In 280 B.C. Seleucus was murdered, and was succeeded by Antiochus Soter, who was succeeded by Antiochus Theos; this latter sovereign was undecided as to which of his two wives, Leodike and Berenike, he favoured more, and Leodike, to put an end to his doubts, poisoned him. Seleucus II succeeded him in 246 B.C., and the Bactrian Greeks, revolting during his reign, occupied Kabul, which henceforth became a Bactrian province.

Diodotus, who had headed the Bactrian revolt, was succeeded, as a King of Kabul, by his son Demetrius, merely to be replaced by Eucratides, who in turn was murdered by his own son, whose name remains unknown. From this point history is silent regarding the doings of the Seleucidas, although the names of two Greek kings are mentioned—those of Menander and Apollodotus. Records cease to be helpful here, and we must be assisted by the no less valuable evidence of monumental structures, coins, and other relics from all over the Middle East, but chiefly in the ruins of Begram near Kabul.

The plain of Begram, thirty miles north of Kabul, which still awaits the spade of the explorer, is littered with ruins of the highest importance to the history of Alexander's supremacy in Afghanistan. Coins are found in this plain, as the upper soil is washed away by rains or turned by the wooden plough of husbandmen. As many as 30,000 coins are generally discovered each year. But Begram is not the only locality where archæological relics are to be encountered. There are many topes

scattered over the Kabul Valley even farther east than Jellalabad. The topes are immense solid domes raised on round towers, and decorated by green glazed paint. These are the pyramids of Afghanistan. No effort has been made to force an entry into these structures, and one which was struck by lightning revealed many interesting relics—vessels, coins, rings, signets and seals, some of which bore Greek inscriptions on one side. The coins found in Afghanistan have inscriptions both in Greek and the old Kabulee languages, just as the modern Indian rupee bears both English and Urdu characters. The Kabulee inscription was nearly always found to be a Sanskrit translation of the Greek version.

The cities of the valley of Kabul, like their ancient Greek prototypes, possessed a mint, and each mint had its own monogram. No less than 150 monograms are given, and from these one can ascertain what part of the country a king had ruled over in Ariana; from the style we can also judge the approximate dates. When India became severed from Greece, and communications ceased from the mother country, an artistic deterioration set in. The coins of Diodotus, the first Bactrian king, are excellent specimens of true Grecian art. So are those of Antiochus. But the coins of Hermaeus, the last of the Bactrian monarchs, are very rude; even the spelling of the Greek on them is incorrect, and the letters have degenerated to mere barbarous symbols. The coins of the first two kings are of gold, while their successors had contented themselves with silver and copper. This may strengthen the assumption that the Greek Conquest had stripped India of such gold as was easily procurable by ancient methods.

The portraits on some of the coins are magnificent, and the four-drachma pieces of Eucratides are very fine indeed. They have the portrait of the king on one side; the reverse contains two horsemen; on the margin are the name and the titles of the Greek king: "Eucratides, the King, the Saviour." Apollodotus has, in addition to his title, a somewhat novel prefix—"The lover of his father". Many coins are square in shape. The Greeks gods are not infrequently depicted on these ancient coins, Hercules with his club, and Apollo with his bow being constantly met with. One coin has a fish on it; the owl, as the bird of wisdom, is also represented, while elephants and bullocks also figure.

It will, perhaps, be of some interest to give a list of the kings whose coins have been found either in Kabul or its environs, the Punjab of Bactria. They are as follows: Diodotus I; Diodotus II; Antimachus I; Euthydemus; Demetrius; Antimachus II; Pantaleon; Agathokles; Heliokles, and his queen Leodike; Apollodotus; Straton, and his queen Agathokleia; Lysias; Nikias; Archebias; Zoilus; Menander; Theophilus; Antialkidas; Philozenes; Diomedes; Dionysius; Epander; Amyntes; Hippostratus; Apollophanes; Antremidorus; Telephus; Hermaeus, and his queen Kalliope; and Straton II—twenty-nine kings and three queens, who were entirely unknown to history until the recent discoveries.

The Hellenic kings seem to have reigned for about 140 years only—from 260 to 120 B.C. During the reign of Hermaeus, the country of Afghanistan was overrun by the Scythians, as is shown by the appearance on a Greek coin of the name of a Scythian king, Kajula Kadopes.

The rapid change in regard to succession of these Greek kings in that part of the East gave some of them just time enough to strike coins. Nadir Shah, when he invaded India, set his mint to work during his brief stay of fifty-seven days in India. Similarly, Sikandar Shah, who reigned for fifty-four days, circulated his coinage. The exercise of the privilege of coining is the monopoly of royalty in the East. Almost the very first thing which a king does on ascending the throne is to institute a coinage. But, apart from this consideration, we have evidence of several Greek kings reigning in Kabul and Bactria at one and the same time.

The coinage enables us to judge of local conditions in Afghanistan. King was fighting against king, the father sometimes against his son.

The title of Apollodotus, "the lover of his father", has a sinister meaning, for he was guilty of his predecessor's assassination. Internecine wars have been never-ending.

The Greek kings of Kabul were idolaters, and their intimate association with the East did not alter their religion. A hundred years after they had ceased to rule Kabul, coins were struck on which not only were the Greek letters used, but the figures of their gods also appeared. Some of these on the Indo-Scythian coins are decidedly Indian in aspect, but their Sanskrit names are Hellenised and are written in Greek characters. Theophilus, for instance, seems a strange name for a Greek king of that period.

During the first Christian century the Yueh-Chi, a Central Asian horde, crushed out the last remnants of Greek rule, and also expelled the Parthians. Kanishka was one of the greatest of the Yueh-Chi rulers. When

THE STONE IMAGE OF BUDDHA AT BAMIYAN

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his empire fell to pieces, the Turki Kings of his race reigned for several centuries afterward in the Kabul valley, and in the seventh century A.D. the Chinese pilgrim, Huien Tsiang, found them still professing Buddhism.

About the end of the ninth century the Turki Shahis gave place to Hindu rulers, who finally disappeared before the onslaught of the Ghaznivids. In 642 the Arabs had occupied western Afghanistan, and Herat became one of the principal cities of the Mahomedan world. They failed to conquer Kabul.

On the break up of the Khalifat, the Persian Saffavids, in the ninth century, ruled for a short time in Herat and Balkh. They were succeeded by the more powerful Samanids, and they in turn by the Turkish house of Ghaznee.

The greatest of the Ghaznivids was Mahmud, who reigned from 988 to 1030. He ruled over Afghanistan, Trans-Oxiana, western Persia and the Punjab, and founded a university at Ghaznee.

After Mahmud's death his outlying possessions fell to the Seljuk Turks, that is, the west and north; but the Afghan house of Ghor finally dispossessed his descendants of their remaining Afghan and Indian dominions. The greatest of the Ghorids was Shahab-ud-din Mahomed (1173-1206), who conquered the whole of north India.

Afghanistan was next overrun by the Mongol hordes of Chengis Khan. His descendants ruled here till Timur Lang subdued the country and proceeded to the sack of Delhi in 1398. When Timur died in 1405, and his empire fell to pieces, his descendants continued to rule in Herat, Balkh, Ghaznee, Kabul and Kandahar.

One of them, Babar, the King of Badakhshan, Kabul and Kandahar, descended upon India in 1525 at the head of a Turki-Afghan army, and at Panipat (1526) overthrew Sultan Ibrahim Lodi of Delhi (also of Afghan descent). Thus were laid the foundations of the Mughal Empire. Now the Afghan possessions become of secondary importance to the Mughals, for Badakhshan was occupied by Uzbeks; Herat and Kandahar fell to the Persian dynasty of the Saffavids. All that was left in Mughal possession were Ghaznee and the province of Kabul. In 1708 the Ghilzais of Kandahar threw off the Persian yoke while the Abdalis (Durranis) took Herat and overran Khorassan. In 1738 Nadir Shah conquered Afghanistan.

In 1739 Nadir Shah invaded India and sacked Delhi. When he was returning home he was assassinated and the loot of vast treasures and wealth fell to the Afghans in his army. Amongst his soldiers was an Afghan general of cavalry, one Ahmad Shah, of the Saddozai section of the Abdali clan—a Durrani. The treasure of Delhi falling into his hands, he laid the foundation of the Durrani Empire.

So in the year 1747, the date of the assassination of Nadir Shah, Afghanistan became for the first time a national monarchy. This Durrani Empire was never stable. It lasted only fifty years. Under Ahmad Shah a series of well-organised expeditions into India took place, resulting in the famous victory over the Maratha hosts at Panipat, 1761. The Durrani Empire included all of modern Afghanistan, Baluchistan, parts of Persia, Sind, the Derajat, the Punjab to Lahore, Kashmir, and the Yusafzai country to the north of Peshawar. Badakhshan paid tribute to that ruler at Kabul.

Ahmad Shah died in 1773 and was succeeded by his son Timur. Under the son the empire began to decline. Sind fell to the Talpur Ameers; and Balkh became virtually independent. In 1793 Timur was succeeded by his son Zaman, during whose reign the Punjab was overrun by Sikhs. From thence onward, until 1818, Afghanistan was the scene of hideous family conflicts between the many sons of Timur. Indeed, at one time great fears were entertained in India that Zaman would invade it, but he remained too much occupied in Persian troubles and family quarrels. In 1799 Mahmud, a son of Timur, seized the throne.

In the beginning of the nineteenth century (1803), as a result of a conspiracy, the throne passed to Shuja-ul-Mulk. At this time, or rather in 1809, Lord Minto was the Governor-General of India, and the fear of Napoleon caused him to despatch Elphinstone to conclude an alliance with the Ameer of Kabul. While the flower of Shuja's army was crushing a revolt in Kashmir shortly after the mission, he was deposed, and once more Mahmud reigned in his stead. Shuja became a refugee at Ludhiana in India. Mahmud was deposed in 1818, which marks the end of the Sadozai dynasty in Afghanistan.

For years following the displacement of the Sadozais, there was considerable internecine fighting, but in 1826 Dost Mahomed Khan, of the Barakzai clan, made himself Lord of Kabul and Ghazni. It was not, however, till 1835 that he assumed the title of the Ameer.

THE ANGLO-AFGHAN WARS

LORD AUCKLAND, the Governor-General of India, now attempted to restore the Sadozai, i.e. Shah Shuja,

because he thought that Shah Shuja, being more friendly, would be a more desirable ruler of a neighbouring state, also it was presumed that Dost Mahomed Khan was inclined towards Russia. The whole thing was a sad mistake, the main facts of it being that Shah Shuja was installed for a time, but the Afghans hated a puppet Ameer who was kept on his throne by British bayonets. Shah Shuja was eventually murdered and Dost Mahomed became Ameer and reigned till 1863.

After the second Sikh war, 1849, India and Afghanistan became neighbours and now the frontier troubles begin, because up to 1893 no proper boundary line existed between the two countries. In 1850, however, Dost Mahomed reconquered Balkh, and in 1855 a friendly treaty was signed between India and Afghanistan. During the same year the Ameer captured Kandahar. It was lucky for the English that Dost Mahomed was friendly in the mutiny of 1857. In the year of his death he captured Herat, and was succeeded by Sher Ali Khan after much fratricidal conflict.

Proper Anglo-Afghan friendly dealings begin from 1869 when Sher Ali Khan met Lord Mayo at Amballa. He wanted a new treaty: a fixed annual subsidy, assistance in arms and men whenever he needed it, a full recognition of his dynasty at Kabul and the acknowledgment of his favourite son, Abdulla Jan, as heir. Mayo could not agree to all the demands, but promised support, of which the British were to be the sole judges in respect of time and measure. Difficulties once again began to arise on account of the Czarist intrigues, and General Kaufmann, Governor of Russian Turkestan, corresponded freely with the Ameer of Kabul. When Lord Mayo was assassinated Anglo-Afghan estrange-

ment had reached its climax, to which was added the Perso-Afghan difficulties over Seistan. When the dispute over the Seistan boundary was handed over to British arbitration, the result being in favour of Persia, animosity to England grew apace in Afghanistan.

In 1873 Russia annexed Khiva in Central Asia and distinctly menaced the independence of Turkestan and the khanates. The Ameer of Afghanistan was also thoroughly alarmed by the wave of Russian territorial expansion beyond his northern border and feeling justifiably uneasy, Sher Ali Khan addressed the British Government for a closer friendship, but Lord Northbrook took a different view. In the following year Lord Beaconsfield became the Prime Minister of England, and Lord Salisbury was appointed as a Secretary of State for India. Great Britain made a definite demand to have her interests watched by an Englishman at Kabul rather than by an Indian Mahomedan at the Court of the Ameer. The King of Kabul could not see his way to agree to the demand, arguing, as he rightly did, that the fanaticism of his people at the time would impose too great a responsibility upon him in protecting a British agent in Afghanistan.

The Second Afghan War (1878-1880) arose out of a mere shadow of excuse. Lord Lytton pressed the point of a British representative at Kabul despite Ameer Sher Ali Khan's repeated explanation that to house a national of the British Isles at that pitch of the Afghan temper was not possible, and the security of life of such a British gentleman he frankly admitted to be beyond his power to guarantee. Lytton took it into his head that the Ameer's excuse was inspired by the Russian intrigue against England, and also, when the British troops

occupied Quetta in 1876, the Afghans began to have serious misgivings regarding the intentions of the Indian Government.

At last British troops entered Afghanistan, and the Ameer, having been defeated, took refuge at Mazar-i-Sharief, where he died. The first phase of this war ended with the treaty of Gundamak in 1879, and Ameer Yakub Khan ascended the throne of Kabul. Sir Louis Cavagnari, who was appointed the British envoy, was murdered, which led to the British reprisals, and the new Amir abdicated, giving place eventually to Amir Abdur Rahman Khan, the nephew of Amir Sher Ali Khan, in 1880. The most important event in the Afghan history of that period was that Lord Ripon recognised Amir Abdur Rahman Khan as the ruler of Afghanistan, but he was not allowed to have direct dealings with any foreign powers; all such arrangements were to be carried through the British Government. This control over the foreign policy of Afghanistan continued more or less up to 1919, when, after the Third Afghan War, that country gained her unqualified and complete independence.

As a result of the Third Afghan War, the ex-king Amanullah Khan sat on the throne of his assassinated father Amir Habibullah Khan, only to go to an exile during the revolution, leaving the country in the throes of revolution and the tyranny of a brigand. Not till the late king Mohammed Nadir Shah, assisted by his brothers, came to the rescue was the bandit curse removed. Nadir Shah, too, fell a victim to an assassin, and the present young monarch, H.M. Mohammed Zahir Shah, now occupies the Afghan throne so tragically vacated by his father after a brief reign.

Now, having indulged, so far, in a sort of historical gallop, in the following pages one might recount an intimate history of the recent past, when the fateful drama in Afghanistan was enacted; and although some of the facts might have to be repeated, the activities of the chief actors there were so full of meaning that the retelling is almost necessary, for a true picture of the rebuilding of the Afghan state as it is to-day cannot be obtained without it.

As the first place must unquestionably be accorded to Nadir Shah in the reconstruction of Afghanistan, the following purposeful narrative should necessarily begin with his life and work for his country. The story, as it unfolds itself, will intertwine round much which, till recently, was obscure or misleading in contemporary affairs of Afghanistan. We shall, therefore, start with the early days of Nadir Shah.

CHAPTER II

The Early Days of Nadir Shah

When Amir Shair Khan's son, Amir Yaqub Khan, decided upon the delightfully situated Dehra Dun, which nestles at the foot of the Himalayas in northern India, as the place of his exile, his brother-in-law, Sirdar Yahya Khan, accompanied him from Afghanistan.

The Sirdar was aged, and his wise counsel might, even then, have saved the throne for Amir Yaqub Khan, but the disillusioned son of Shair Ali Khan was now a broken man. Recollections of a lost cause overwhelmed him with grief. Soon a change came upon him; he was a sad and a lonely man, whose visions, residing in the past, embittered his declining years, making him a friendless and a pathetic figure, fretful of all advice however sincere.

As a consequence, the relations between the two men, notwithstanding the fact that they were brothers-in-law, both living in close proximity in a strange, Indian town, became strained and distant.

Sirdar Yahya Khan was most circumspect. He lived a retired and detached life. His two sons, Sirdar Mohammed Yusuf Khan and Sirdar Mohammed Asif Khan, followed their father's example.

Sirdar Mohammed Yusuf Khan had five sons. The second was born in Dehra Dun on the 9th of April, 1883. The name of this second son was Nadir.

HIS LATE MAJESTY MOHAMMED NADIR SHAH, THE FATHER OF THE PRESENT KING OF AFGHANISTAN

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It is impossible to say at this stage whether it was one of the legends which grow up and surround the lives of the great ones of the East or whether it occurred in actual fact, but it is said that it was frequently heard in the most unlikely corners of Old Kabul that the illustrious mother of the subject of this book was wont to declare that one of her sons was destined to become King at Kabul.

Under the able guidance of his grandfather, Sirdar Yahya Khan, young Nadir lived in and absorbed the true traditional atmosphere of his race. That which he then learned was, in after years, to make him stand out as a model man amongst his countrymen.

He read much, gave much time to thought, yet always had a bright and ready smile for all.

Sirdar Mohammed Yusuf Khan, the father, as well as the aged grandfather, noted in the temperament of the growing lad an innate love of clean sport; a bright sense of humour and, above all, a devoutness toward all the religious observances of Islam.

Throughout this period the youthful Nadir practised his studies with private tutors in Dehra Dun.

A much-faded photograph of this time—a children's group taken forty-three years ago—lies before me as I write. The background is an artist's impression of what a palm grove should be. It is the foreground, however, that matters. In the group are assembled Nadir and his brothers (others had arrived in the interim). It took the world forty years to realise that the boys depicted in this photograph would write their names large in the history of our times.

On the right of the picture there is a polar-bear skin. On this sits Sirdar Mohammed Hashim Khan.

He has a surprised expression on his face, but the gaze intent upon the photographer's lens speaks volumes for his vigilant intelligence.

Sirdar Ahmad Shah Khan is there, wearing a round astrakhan cap. His tiny legs are folded beneath him on the chair. He is alert, and watchful.

There is one standing. He has a fixed and determined mien. It is none other than Nadir—Nadir, the rescuer of his people from the flames of Afghan revolution.

His cap sits awry on his head. His heels are together. His body is erect. Even at the youthful age of seven he displayed some of the martial bearing of the Afghan King to be.

The eldest brother, Sirdar Abdul Aziz Khan, also of tender years, sits in the centre of the picture—as behoves an elder brother. Also, there is Sirdar Shah Wali Khan, the victor of Kabul, with an expression in his eyes at once powerful and intent.

Yet, if one were asked to gaze at the picture and to give an impartial account of one's impressions, one would find that one figure was pre-eminent and that of a small boy with his hat on one side, his heels placed smartly together with limbs upstanding and straight —that of the youthful Nadir.

Nine years elapse before one is vouchsafed another pictorial representation of the family.

This time, the wise Sirdar Yahya Khan is wearing a long robe and an Uzbaki turban. He has a full beard and he is counting the beads of his rosary. Deep in contemplation, he sits in the centre of his sons and his grandsons as they were grouped in Dehra Dun.

Nadir and his brothers have grown to an age where it is impossible for one of their race not to take pride

in the sturdy picture which they present. Although exiled in body, these men are obviously not detached in thought from the land of their origin—from that Kabul where resided their spiritual being. They were longing to return to their flesh and blood—to that land beyond the Khyber which those who are exiled, no matter for how many generations, always regarded as their Motherland.

At the age of seventeen Nadir had graduated in Arabic, in the sacred laws of religion, in the history and literature of both the East and the West. He did not rest on his laurels, however, for even after his graduation he occupied his time by an earnest perusal of the classical works of Asia.

"The boy has altogether too stupendous a knowledge of things for his age," once remarked Sirdar Fateh Mohammed Khan to my father when referring to Nadir, who was then barely more than seventeen.

It was at that time that Nadir applied his imagination to the conjuring up of wonderful pictures of Afghanistan's past. Perhaps, even then, his vision encompassed the power that was to be his after the fall of Amanullah. Perhaps he realised even then that, like every true Afghan, his destiny lay beyond the Khyber Pass.

An impression of what was in Nadir's mind was given about this period.

It was on one of those frequent occasions when the head of the family, Sirdar Yahya Khan, used to gather his sons and grandsons around him in the garden of his Dehra Dun residence. Free speech was not only permitted, but invited.

On this occasion, Nadir startled his aged kinsman

by using very forcible language. The theme was that they should return to Kabul.

"The air of India is too soft for the Afghans," he said. "It is degenerating and harmful to our limbs and our stamina. It breeds inactivity to such a degree that soon we shall not be able to serve our country."

Without doubt, men of maturer years were of the same mind, but none had given vent to this inner feeling with such vigour and nationalistic fire.

That peculiar trait of his which distinguished him from his fellows, even when he was but eighteen, came up once more in yet another remark.

"My heart is in anguish," he said, "that we should ever have had to leave the fair country of our origin. Was it the cruel hand of Fate? Was it the Ferenghi? Or was it our own countrymen who were the cause of our being detached from what we love most?"

When he spoke thus, he was almost moved to tears.

The pride which is of the Afghan race fired the hitherto half-closed eyes of that old warrior, Sirdar Yahya Khan. Nadir's words had stirred the depths of his soul. For a moment it seemed that he might break forth into anger. Then he spoke.

"The whole world of Ferenghis," said the wise old Sirdar, "could not fling out a single Afghan from his country. The Afghans know the value of those who could serve their people and would not demean their nation by turning against them. As to Fate——" Here the Sirdar hesitated.

He recommended his listeners to Al Tughral's poem, an excerpt of which I must give here to convey some sense of the magnificence of its message.

"No kind supporting hand I meet,
But fortitude shall stay my feet;
No borrowed splendours round me shine,
But virtue's lustre, all is mine;
A fame unsullied still I boast,
Obscured, concealed, but never lost;
The same bright orb that led the day
Pours from the West his mellow ray."

Perhaps it was that coming events were casting their shadows before. It is a remarkable fact, however, that Nadir Khan's military career began in what was nothing but a mere incident.

Amongst the many books on general knowledge which he had been reading were some on military science.

In the actual use of firearms naturally, like every Afghan, he had more than ordinary proficiency. At that time the art of war as a career seemed remote and quite without the orbit of Nadir's aspirations.

It is usual for British regiments to make a brief halt at Dehra Dun on the way from the hills to their camps in the plains of India during the winter months. One regiment, during its halt, held a sports meeting. Amongst other local notables the Sirdar and his family were invited to be present.

From under the shamiana of the distinguished guests, Sirdar Yahya Khan watched the games of the English soldiers with interest, but when the target shooting competition commenced—the principal item on the sports programme—the Sirdar became entranced.

The Colonel of the regiment, noticing the Sirdar's keen interest, handed him a rifle, but the Sirdar passed

it on to Nadir. The other brothers had had greater practice with the rifle, so why he should have selected Nadir, none can tell.

The fact remains that the winner of that afternoon's shooting event was Nadir Shah.

On good authority I can state that prior to that time Nadir had had no experience of target shooting. He had, however, often accompanied his brothers on ordinary shikar parties which frequently took them to the Indian jungle for an afternoon's sport.

Though in a manner incidental, that competition did quite definitely introduce Nadir Shah to an avenue which was to prepare him for the task of winning the freedom of his country. Thereafter, he began to evince a very sincere interest in matters military. There was undoubtedly a call—a call to the heart.

The suddenness and the force with which his military interest developed astonished his elders in Dehra Dun. His habits changed.

Although, as exiles, much of whose wealth and that of his kinsmen was in landed property in Afghanistan, he was by no means poor. Sirdar Yahya Khan was able to provide his family with all those evidences of wealth to which he had been accustomed in his own country.

Nadir Shah turned to the simple life.

He banished the divans, the soft cushions and even the sumptuous bedclothes from his rooms. Hard chairs, made of wood, with only blankets for a covering, were substituted. Maps were hung upon the walls. There was a giant bookcase in which reposed military works. If he had not been a soldier born, those who saw his chambers would have suspected him of leanings toward the life of a hermit.

With this simple and austere life, the religious zeal of Nadir Shah increased in proportion. He followed the commandments and allowed no "convenient" interpretations. He carried them out to the letter in their clear and direct injunctions. The Sufi thought exercised great attractions for him and hardly ever did he miss the gatherings of Moslem mystics at the celebrated shrine of Sirhind in India.

At one of these annual pilgrimages to the holy shrine of Sirhind, Nadir Shah detached himself from the rest of his party. It was then a distance of ten miles to the shrine. Nadir Shah covered the rocky road bare-foot.

It was midnight when he joined the Halqa, or the gathering of the Sufis within the precincts of the shrine.

As the sheikhs were explaining the inner meanings of certain couplets of Jalaluddin Runi, young Nadir, folding his knees under him, sat in the circle of the disciples.

He sat near a young grandee who had but recently arrived from Damascus. This man was proud of the chamois-leather boots which he wore. He glanced at his elegant footwear and then at the bare feet of the Afghans. Certainly, he did not approve of the simple attire of the young man who sat beside him. He continued to yawn at the discourse of the sheikhs. Moreover, he persisted in easing his feet from the tightness of his boots.

His long study of human nature had given to the leader of the mystics an insight into the human mind. He was aware of what was passing in the mind of the rich merchant from Damascus and he eyed him disapprovingly.

Presently, he addressed him.

"My son," he said. "Bare feet are better than tight boots."

The chided Syrian merchant lived long enough to recount this story to me and also another concerning a meeting with Nadir Shah. This latter, he recounted to me in Bayreuth a few years ago.

When the Halqa ended at daybreak, and the various pilgrims were repairing to their respective abodes of rest, the Damascus merchant, quite by accident, found himself travelling upon the same road as Nadir Shah.

Making casual conversation, the Syrian, still holding himself somewhat aloof, remarked to the young Afghan Sirdar that he had not benefited much from the sheikh's lecture.

"When I dived into the sea without finding pearls," recited Nadir Shah, with the pious intonation of the true Sufi, "It was the fault of my unhappy heart and not of the sea."

He passed on without further comment, hoping that the inner significance of the couplet would sink into the Syrian's heart.

When I saw this merchant, he was a devout Haji.

The words of the youthful Nadir had done their work.

As Nadir grew from youth to manhood, his father, Sirdar Yusuf Khan, now of much riper age, observed unmistakable signs of approaching greatness in his son. Writing to a friend about those days, he said:—

"Yes, the days here in India pass in bodily comfort, but there is little satisfaction for the craving in our hearts.

"As for Nadir, not that I love him more than my other sons, but my heart somehow goes out to him more.

His very being seems to thrill me. This youth is either going to be a great Sheikh, a great religious scholar, or a King. At least, he will be a great soldier. Would that I may live to see the day of his dawning."

Events were to prove how true was the reading of his son's character, for Nadir rose to occupy all these positions. In turn, he was acclaimed as a great and devout scholar, a soldier, and a King.

To a degree, of course, these earlier observations were based upon those sentimental siftings of the mind which find credence only in the East. Here a man may read volumes in the rising and setting of a star; here, the languorous face of the moon may mean a great many things as she peeps from the shadow of a cloud; here, the wise men are able to foretell the purpose for which a man may be appointed by the characteristics of his gait, or in the manner in which he recites a poem.

Beyond all this, however, the routine work, to which Nadir subjected himself, gradually singled him out and placed him above all other men.

Every morning he rose much before the dawn. He devoted a whole hour to prayer. Then he rode hard through the jungle of the Himalayan terai. With the holy chant upon his lips he bestrode his bay charger; he rode the paths which led to the cool breezes of the Mussoorie hills; down also, to the dusty highway leading to Saharanpur, amidst the Indian plains.

Being a gifted reciter of the Koran, the people heard him raising his voice in sacred melody as, oblivious of his surroundings, he made his way through the avenues of dowadars that kiss the feet of the Himalayas. Nothing moved Nadir more than the solitude of the day's

dawning, when the jungle awoke and surged up riotously around him.

Devout though he was in religious matters, young Nadir did not entirely seek the cloistered life. His interest in military life was there and it was rapidly assuming the greatness of a passion.

Wherever there was a military parade, there was Nadir watching. When still under twenty years of age he sought for special permission to witness artillery practice near Delhi. The permission was accorded. The commanding officer on the range shook the youthful Nadir by the hand and escorted him to a special place of observation, for Nadir's interest in military matters was then well known.

The guns were roaring and hitting their targets and the commanding officer was well pleased. He turned to Nadir and spoke of the excellence of his guns. "Is it not wonderful," he remarked, "that they can hit an object which the gunners are unable to see with their naked eyes?"

The Sirdar smiled courteously and peered once more through his field-glasses.

The commanding officer was resolved that an opportunity to make an impression upon the young man should not be allowed to pass. He was anxious to emphasise the might of the Sirkar of India. The C.O. called a young British officer to his side.

This young gentleman took up the strain.

"It is wonderful. It is almost magic," this young officer enthused. "Those cannon can do such remarkable work. They can demolish whole houses—even fort walls."

At first Nadir appeared to have taken little heed of

the remark, but when the officer further drew his attention to the wonder of the big guns, Nadir decided that he would play the part of the greenhorn no longer.

Fixing his eye on the officer, he observed quietly: "I have heard what you have said, but are not those guns intended to discharge shells? What is there wonderful in their performance?"

Trivial though this incident may appear to be, it at least shows that Nadir was not unduly impressed. Rather, they caused foreboding to enter his thoughts. He visualised the guns being used against his own countrymen. He wondered what he could do in the matter.

I have it from one who closely observed the early career of Nadir that from that date the walls of his study were decorated with pictures and diagrams of guns of all calibre. The diagrams gave mathematical formulae, detailing each separate part of each type of artillery. Nadir was now determined that one day he would be an artillery officer.

At his request, two teachers of higher mathematics were engaged. This became an intense study.

His father, when shown a complex diagram which his son had drawn, remarked, on one occasion: "Is Nadir going to be a Professor of Mathematics? If he is, he will have to take the solace of much brain and little money!"

But Nadir knew that the higher the attainment in mathematics, the greater the value of a soldier as an artillery officer.

Sirdar Mohammed Yusuf Khan, with the declining years of the aged and illustrious patriarch, his father, was now virtually head of the family. He was, of

course, aware of the studies of his sons and of those of Nadir in particular, but Sirdar Yusuf Khan was inherently a peace-loving person. He gave long discourses to his family on the subject of peace, the cultivation of which he enjoined among his co-religionists more than anything else.

He did not altogether welcome Nadir's obvious warlike preparations, yet he once said to his assembled sons on the occasion of the Idd Festival: "But since we must all die, what more glorious death is there than that one should die for one's religion and country?"

Leaving for a while Sirdar Yahya Khan's family in Dehra Dun, let us look for a moment at conditions in Afghanistan at the period of the close of the nineteenth century when Amir Abdar Rahman Khan's energy was being sapped by illness.

It was in the midst of the Afghanistan of Abdar Rahman Khan's creation that Nadir was presently to operate.

A little historical retrospection will make it clear that it was given to the Emperor Ahmad Shah Abdali or Durrani, in A.D. 1747, to promote Afghanistan to a national existence. Later, Amir Shair Ali Khan, by 1863, had gathered the scattered forces of the Durranis into one unification. Contemporary Afghanistan owes much, also, to the wonderful achievements of Amir Abdar Rahman Khan, whose reign lasted well over twenty years. The form which was given to the State by that wise ruler started a new era at Kabul.

Amir Habibullah Khan, who ascended the throne in 1901, while essentially a good ruler, found it necessary

to institute little that was new. When he ascended the Royal dais, the throne had been made secure. He came to a country which was already in being as a unit.

It was, therefore, in the atmosphere engendered by Amir Abdar Rahman that Nadir obtained his first impressions of service for his country. Actually, of course, Amir Habibullah was upon the throne, but the Afghanistan which Nadir was to know was that of the former monarch's making.

In order, therefore, to pass rapidly in review scenes of the Afghan court and country at that time, in order that the environment into which Nadir was to be precipitated might be appreciated, let me give an account of Afghanistan and its ruler as is handed down in the words of Abdar Rahman Khan himself.

"From my childhood, up to the present day," wrote this wise Amir, "my life has been in contrast to the habits of living indulged in by nearly all other Asiatic monarchs and chiefs. They live, for the most part, a life of idleness and luxury. It is thought by aristocratic people that the prestige of a prince is minimised by his being seen walking on foot, or doing anything with his own hands. I myself believe that there is no greater sin than allowing our minds and bodies to be useless and unoccupied; it is being ungrateful for the gifts of God.

"Men can judge for themselves from my history if I have not been, throughout my life, a thorough soldier. Perhaps I have been more hard-working than any common labourer or workman.

"My ways of living and dressing have always been plain and simple and soldier-like. I have always liked

to keep myself occupied, day and night, in working hard at something or other, devoting only a few hours to sleep. As habit is second nature, it has become a habit of mine that even when I am seriously ill, when I cannot move from my bed, I still keep on working as usual at reading and writing documents and various Government papers; at hearing applications and complaints and giving instructions and judgements. Those who have seen me, at such times, know how hard I work and they have often heard me say that if my hands and feet cannot move, I can still go on moving my tongue to give orders to those about me, and tell them what I wish to be done.

"It is no trouble to me to work hard; on the contrary, I love it. I never feel tired, because I am so fond of work and labour. There is no doubt that every person has some sort of ambition; and this is my ambition; all the hard work I do is to complete the administrative work of my kingdom. In the words of the poem:—

> "'If the beloved should not encourage the lover
> towards her, the lover will neither have
> the heart nor the courage to approach her'."

"'This love for work is inspired of God; it is the true urge and desire to look after the flock of human beings whom God has entrusted to me, His humble slave. Allah says, through his Prophet:—

> "'When the Almighty desires to do a thing, he makes all the necessary preparations for it.'

"As God wished to relieve Afghanistan from foreign oppression, and internal disturbances, he honoured

this, his humble servant, by placing him in this responsible position; and He caused him to become absorbed in thoughts of the welfare of the nation, and inspired him to be devoted to the progress of this people; to be ready to sacrifice life itself for their welfare and for the true Faiths of the Holy Prophet Mohammed, may God bless him.

"The more I see of the people of other nations and religions, running fast in the pursuit of progress, the less I can rest and sleep. The whole day long I keep on thinking how I shall be able to run the race with the swiftest. At night, my dreams are just the same. There is a saying that the cat does not dream about anything but mice; I dream of nothing but the backward condition of my country; how to defend it—seeing that this poor goat of Afghanistan is a victim with a lion on one side and a terrible bear on the other. Both the lion and the bear are staring, ready to swallow at the first opportunity that is afforded. My courtiers know, for example, that for years before the question of marking out the boundaries of Afghanistan was mooted, I had dreamed a dream that was published at that time and distributed throughout the whole country. Briefly, the purport of that dream was, that before my death, I should finish and complete making a strong wall all round Afghanistan for its safety and protection.

"This dream was interpreted by the astronomers to mean that the boundaries of Afghanistan would be marked out by me so that the everlasting forward policy of our neighbours would be halted. Every year, as you know, they were creeping nearer and nearer.

"Many other dreams of mine, like this, all of which I have told to my courtiers, have come true. You have seen that the boundaries have been marked out. And I am still alive, to the sorrow of those who seem so anxious to put an end to me. They circulate false reports of my death about once a week. I do not think than any man has died so many times as I have done in the imagination of my enemies."

Since we cannot know anything of the true spirit of Afghanistan at this time without a more thorough acquaintance with Amir Abdar Rahman's mind and work, I must add yet another intimate picture.

It is the year 1885. Lord Dufferin is the Governor-General of India. Lord Dufferin invited the Amir to a conference in Rawalpindi.

Ostensibly, the occasion was one for free and friendly converse regarding the demarcation of the boundaries between Afghanistan and India. The real purpose of the conference, however, was to allow the Amir to see something of the grandeur and the power of the British in India. England desired to be in that position where the Amir would agree to the terms which they put forth. Frankly, it was to intimidate him and to cause him to pause before he embarked on the contemplation of any hostile action. At that period, giant bluffs such as this were considered good diplomacy on the part of the British. One can only hope that in these days this ancient weapon has been discarded.

The Amir, however, had seen through this rather transparent device of Lord Dufferin, even before he had left Kabul. Nevertheless, he was quite prepared to enter into the game. There was to be none of the inferiority complex.

At Rawalpindi great preparations were made for the arrival of what many of the British considered to be a crude and uncivilised monarch.

In addition to the private conversations regarding the boundary dispute, there was to be a great public Durbar.

The Commander-in-Chief and Lord Dufferin had sent invitations to many Indian Maharajas and Nawabs to attend the Durbar. It was expressly intimated that they should wear as many jewels as they could in order that the Amir of a hilly and not too fertile country should be overawed and observe over what rich potentates the British Raj was paramount. The psychological effect of this was to be one of the main features of the Durbar.

The Amir was forewarned of what was ahead as he sat in his golden tent at Rawalpindi the night before the great gathering.

It had been further resolved that the Amir should be required to take his seat on the dais some five minutes before the arrival of the Governor-General so that, when the British officers entered the Durbar, the Amir, like the others, would have to rise to his feet. The entry of the Governor-General was arranged from behind the dais so as to heighten the illusion of his status. The Amir, like the Maharajas and Nawabs, was to go to his seat through the body of the hall, through the files of Indian Princes.

It was also in the scheme of things that, after the Durbar, the Amir and the Governor-General would walk to the main entrance while all the other Maharajas and Nawabs remained standing. It was arranged, also, that when about half way down the gangway, a young Indian Prince, with dazzling gems in his head-dress

with ropes of pearls round his neck and with diamonds scintillating in his ears, should advance and salute the Amir.

The underlying idea of this was that the Amir should carry away yet another impression of the magnificence of Hind and of the mighty power wielded by Lord Dufferin. In contrast with the poverty of Afghanistan all this should have been overawing and intimidating.

The stage being set, the Amir left his camp, allowing himself a leisurely half-hour in which to arrive at the Durbar hall.

The Indian Princes and the Nawabs were already there, complete with their bags of pearls and other evidences of their great wealth.

The time of eleven, when the Durbar should open, drew near. This was the hour, thought the Sirdars who accompanied the old man of Kabul, when their monarch would be humiliated.

Punctually at five minutes to eleven, the Amir was at the entrance to the hall. High British functionaries received him while the Governor-General was in the robing chamber behind the dais. All was going according to the British plan.

The Afghan National Anthem struck upon the air. Minutes were passing. The concourse observed the Amir climbing the red carpeted steps. It was three minutes to eleven. Then two minutes . . . and two steps more, and then the hall.

At that moment, something happened to the boots of the Amir.

"Wakh! Wakh!" he cried. "There is something in my boots."

A nail jagging, perhaps?

Servants, Sirdars and high officials tugged at the boots. None could discover anything the matter with them.

The Amir looked down at his footwear.

"Leave them alone. Leave them alone," he growled petulantly. "I can bear even a sword in my boot."

But it was enough. The hour of eleven had struck. The band was playing the British National Anthem. The Amir stood on one side of the hall and the Governor-General on the other. When all were standing, the Amir made his way to his seat.

The Kabuli Sirdars looked at each other meaningly.

The "Wise Amir" had scored yet once again.

The Durbar ended with the usual exchange of felicitations and compliments. There still had to be enacted the second little episode as the Amir and the Governor-General passed down the gangway.

According to plan, the youthful Indian Prince stepped out, his jewellery flashing, and saluted the Amir.

As was arranged, the Governor-General tarried. He presented the comely youth to the Amir as one of the great vassals of the Empire and as a very rich potentate. Care was taken to see that due emphasis was given to each remark.

The giant stature of the Amir, clad in an enormous fur coat and large fur hat, moved a little toward the youth.

The Amir extended a hand and gently stroked the Prince's smooth and beardless cheeks.

"Bachaeem," he said, "mard husti ya zain?" meaning: "My son, are you of the male or female sex?"

Meanwhile the Amir smiled gently, the sting of the remark being softened thereby.

Thus, however, was warded off the second attack by bluff.

We must go back once more to the court life of the capital, and at a time when the nineteenth century was drawing to a close.

There is another personally penned description of the ruler which gives an intimate background to the scene which Nadir Shah was destined to enter.

"There is no fixed time," wrote the Amir Abdar Rahman Khan, "and no proper programme for me throughout the twenty-four hours of the day and night in which I work. I go on working from morning until evening and from evening again until morning. I am like any labourer. I eat when I am hungry and some days I even forget that I have not eaten the meals which have been prepared for me. I forget all about it. I raise my head from my writing and, all at once, ask my courtiers, 'Did I eat my dinner to-day, or not?'

"In the same way, when I get tired and sleepy, I go to sleep on the same bed which is my chair for work. I do not require any private room or bedroom; neither any room for secrecy, or grand receptions. There are plenty of such rooms in my palaces, but I have no time to spare to move even from one room to another. Of course, I love to go to my Harem and spend an evening with my family and they are equally delighted when I pay these visits; but my time is so full that there is no time to spare; except occasionally, when I make it.

"As I have said, there is no fixed time for meals or other personal needs. I may mention that my usual custom is to go to rest about five or six in the morning,

rising again about two in the afternoon. The whole time that I am in bed, my sleep is disturbed in such a way that I awake nearly every hour and keep on thinking about the improvements to and the anxieties of my country. Then I go to sleep again.

"I get up between two and three in the afternoon and the first thing I do is to see the doctors and hakeems who examine me to see if I require any medicine. After this, the tailor comes in, bringing with him several plain suits made in European style. I choose one for that day's use. After I have washed and dressed, my tea-bearer arrives, carrying tea and a light breakfast. During the whole of the time, from the entrance of the hakeems until I have finished breakfast, the usher, the secretaries, the Nazir or the Lord of the Seal and one or two other officials, keep on looking at me. They are saying in their minds, 'Oh, be quick. Let us put the day's work before you.'

"I do not blame them for this, because the secretaries have to make replies to all the letters and documents and despatches of the day. The Lord of the Seal has to seal all the orders for the daily expenses of the Government and to put all the reports of the Intelligence Department, which have been received since I went to sleep, before me. The usher has to introduce hundreds of people who have their cases or appeals to be tried by me, or have to be appointed to certain duties and services. But no sooner do I appear at work, after finishing my breakfast, than various officials, my sons, and my beloved servants present themselves before me, and take instructions on their various duties.

"Every page-boy, of whom there are hundreds, and men of the the detective department, walk in with letters

in their hands from one or other suffering person who requires my help and judgment.

"In this way I am crowded and surrounded by many who desire that their business be attended to, as well as to show their zeal to me by giving me more work to do. I keep on working until five or six the next morning, when I resume the same routine, just keeping a few minutes for my meals. Even then, however, my courtiers keep asking me questions—and, in fact, there is no rest for the wicked.

"In 1891 I appointed my son Habibullah Khan to hold the Durbars instead of myself. Since then, the work which I keep for myself and attend to every day is as follows:—

"Foreign Office, Intelligence Department, political work, Treasury; criminals accused of high treason and other crimes and offences of a grave nature involving death penalties; hearing and deciding appeals from the court of my son and all the other inferior courts of the governors; the work of buying and making all sorts of war materials and articles in the Government workshops; awarding the laws of the country and introducing reforms; giving instructions to my sons and other officials; household affairs of my family as well as those of other foreign princes and caliphs who are under my protection; my guests, my officials and page-boys.

"The courtiers: The following people are always in attendance upon me from the time I wake until the time I go to sleep:—

"Court secretaries; Gentleman Usher; Lord of the Seal; Head of the Intelligence Department; Head of the Royal Kitchens—he has the duty of bringing all

the petitions before me. There is no more honoured or confidential position than his. The British Agent's letters are also forwarded to me through him.

"One hakeem; one doctor and a surgeon as well as a dispenser; two or three officers of the bodyguard and a few footmen who look after the flowers in the room. There are a few personal attendants who serve the dinner, a fruit-keeper who hands fruit to the officials of the palace; a tea-bearer who hands tea to me and the courtiers; an abdar who hands drinking water; page-boys, the grooms, who keep the horses ready saddled and run on foot by the side of the horses to be in readiness to hold them when the riders dismount; the personal purse-keeper; store-keeper for the personal alms, gun-room man; the pipe-cleaner, a few farrash, or bed-makers, a few tailors and valets, a librarian; an official crier who has loudly to shout out what the complainants have to say; a person who gives notice to those who have to attend the court; and the Master of the Horse. All these have to be present during my working hours.

"In addition to these people, the following are always near the Durbar room to be ready when required, although they are not in personal attendance: professional chess-players; a few personal companions; a reader who reads to me at night; a story-teller. Some of the officials who bring reports to me during the day are invited to sit in my society in the evening, when they have finished their work.

"At night, a few nobles and chiefs residing in Kabul come to see me. If I am free, those who are invited to entertain me or have interviews are allowed to remain. The others go away.

"The musicians are of several nationalities—Indians, Persians and Afghans. They also attend the courts at night, being paid for their services. If I am free, they are allowed to come in and sing and play music. Though I am never entirely free, yet the courtiers enjoy the music. I listen in the intervals. This second group of people is usually employed only for night duty.

"There is a third class of personal servant who always keep in rooms near my sitting-room, or, if I am travelling in tents, near to me. They are ready for service when they are called. These are:—coachmen for carriages; litter-bearers, gardeners; hair-dressers, store-keepers, draughtsmen; surveyors; sappers and miners; additional medical men; and engineering staff and couriers. There is also a postal department and personal attendants; priests, Imams, or the leaders of prayer; a band of musicians, a drum-carrier and a flag-bearer.

"When I ride out in any direction, every one of these servants accompanies me together with cavalry, infantry and artillery of the bodyguard. The riding horses of my couriers, several of those of the officials, those of the page-boys and others, have gold and silver harness.

"When the whole cavalcade starts out, it forms a very pretty and brilliant picture. The retinue is arranged as follows, even though the ride is but from one building to another:—

"I ride in the centre, surrounded by my courtiers, officials and special servants and page-boys. These surround me completely on every side, talking to me in turn as they are spoken to. The shatirs, or runners with horses, walk on foot near my horse. This forms the inner circle.

"The other circle is made up from the second class of my personal servants, namely the tailors, the farrashes, the pipe-carriers, dispensers, etc. The third circle is formed of the infantry of the bodyguard who also go before and behind. The fourth circle is formed of the cavalry, riding in front and behind. The artillery is arranged according to circumstance of the direction and time.

"Guards: My own bodyguard, and those of my sons and the Queen, are of two nationalities. The first are of the Royal nationality—the Royal Kandahari country belonging to the Kandahar Durranis. There are also foot-soldiers, also of the Durrani clan of Kandahar. The second class is of the cavalry bodyguard of Kabul who are all sons of various chiefs of the hill tribes of Afghanistan. There is also a Royal battalion of Kabulis who are also sons of chiefs of Afghanistan. I have added to these Kabuli and Kandahar bodyguards a third class, the sons of the Turcoman chiefs, in the cavalry as well as in the infantry of the bodyguard. The officers of the cavalry, infantry and artillery, which form the force of my bodyguard, are selected chiefs of Afghanistan in whom I have full confidence, and the sons of my brother's people, who have been faithful servants of my father; also, those of my followers in the earlier days of my life.

"The whole of my bodyguard, including officers, are paid a little higher salary than the other ordinary troops, for the responsibility of being in charge of the lives of the Royal Family, as well as the Royal palaces, treasury and magazines, is immense. This unit, together with a small artillery force consisting of Maxim guns, Gardiner guns and a mountain battery and one or two

other light batteries, is always kept in readiness to start in any direction at any moment I may wish to march.

"I am always ready, as a soldier, to march to a battle, in such a manner that I could start without any delay in case of emergency. The pockets of my coats are always filled with loaded revolvers and one or two loaves of bread for one day's food; this bread is changed every day. Several guns and swords are always lying beside my bed, or on the chair where I am seated, within easy reach of my hand, and saddled horses are always kept ready with other armaments. The horses, not only for myself, but for my courtiers and personal attendants, are always at the door of the Durbar hall.

"I have also ordered that a considerable number of gold coins should be sewn into the saddles of my horses in case these should be needed on a journey. On each side of the saddles there are two revolvers. I think that it is necessary in such a warlike country that the King, and especially a monarch who is a soldier himself, should always be prepared for emergencies as a soldier on the field of battle. Though my country is perhaps more peaceful and safe now than many other countries, still, one cannot be too cautious and too well prepared.

"All my attendants go to sleep when I do, except the following, who keep awake in their turn: the guards, etc., their officers, the tea-bearer, the water-bearer, the dispenser, the pipe-bearer and the valet and tailor.

"My page-boys consist of the sons of the nobility and chiefs, sons of the officials of my court; in addition to these are my slave boys, consisting of Kafirs, Shigmani, Chatrati, Badakhshi, Hazara and various other tribes. In fact, these boys are more under my tutorship and

training than any of the other boys. They are dressed like Princes in velvet and most valuable uniforms; they have magnificent horses to ride; they have servants and personal attendants; they have pocket-money in addition to their dress, food, horses, houses and clothing from the Government. And, when they grow up, they are appointed to the highest posts in the Kingdom. For instance, Faramuz Khan, a Chitrali slave—as he once was—is now my most trusted Commander-in-Chief at Herat. Nazir Mohammed Safar Khan, another Chitrali slave, is the most trusted official of my court. He keeps my Seal in his hands to put on any document and he sees to my food and diet. In short, he has my full confidence. My life, as well as my Kingdom is in his hands.

"Perwana Khan, the late deputy Commander-in-Chief, and Jan Mohammed Khan, the late head of the Treasury, two of the highest officials of my realm, were, in their lifetime, both my slaves.

"To tell you the truth, the word 'slave' is only a name, the real sense of the word in Afghanistan during my reign in this: The slaves are more trusted and honoured than any others in the Kingdom. When they are quite grown up, I arrange marriages for them with the daughters of the nobility and highly respected families. I give them horses and furniture and all requirements of life, better than those possessed by the Princes of the Royal family. Their wives have separate allowances for their pocket-money as well as personal servants allowed by the Government.

"In this way I have cleared out and abolished the cruel system of slavery. The word 'slave' is merely a remnant of the old times. Otherwise, there is no such

thing as a slave in Afghanistan. The buying of slaves is forbidden by law, and male and female slaves in various families, who were always slaves in olden times, are treated as members of the family by their masters. The offspring of slaves are called Khanah Zad (born in the family) and are just as kindly treated and are loved with the same affection as the other children of the head of the family. If a person kills a slave, as at one time they used to be killed, the punishment is death in my country. If a slave is badly treated and the cruelty is proved, the slave has his liberty by my orders, because God has created all human beings children of one parent and entitled to equal rights. There is no reason why one should be a tyrant and the others the victims of tyranny.

"Usually, the male and female slaves of Afghanistan are either the children of the prisoners of war or of parents who have been killed in war and, therefore, had no one to give them a living. The rich families and nobles give them the same privileges as their own children and, like the Royal page-boys, when they grow up, they are well married. They get better positions than many poor people through the influence of their patrons. They thus rise to very high positions if they are gifted.

"When I conquered the country of Kafirstan in 1896, I ordered that no prisoner of war should be sold as a slave and that no one should be allowed to marry a Kafir woman against her will. Those who had captured prisoners were compensated in money for what they might have taken in booty. Thus, none were entitled to keep the body of human beings. I liberated all the Kafirs.

"Food: In my belief, we eat to live, though too many Eastern chiefs act as if they lived to eat. I have strictly forbidden, under the penalty of severe punishment, the drinking of wine. I do not drink wine myself, nor do I allow any of my Moslem courtiers and attendants to drink wine, except in case of illness and when prescribed by a doctor. Ready-cooked food is given from the Government kitchens to all the aforementioned personal servants.

"My wife and grandsons, together with their personal attendants, also get cooked food from the same source. Once a week, all the military and civil officers attend a public levee held by my son, Habibullah Khan, and lunch with him in the grand Durbar hall in the building of Salam Khanah—the audience hall which holds some 1,500 people. I held these levees myself until 1891.

"The expenses for food for the Royal kitchens are paid out of the State Treasury and those of all the other towns of Afghanistan. Also, the governors of towns and provinces give dinners to all the civil and military officers and chiefs who live there, at the expense of the Government. This system of hospitality has always existed in Afghanistan, and though it is very expensive, it has always been kept up.

"The food cooked for myself and my officials, as well as for the members of my family, consists of Kabul cooking, namely, pallao (rice and meat cooked together), roast meat and various other dishes, Uzbeg, or the food of the Turkomans, Indian dishes, European dishes of all kinds, so that any person may select the dishes he likes best, as people of so many nationalities are in my service.

"Meals are served in the following manner: The

first thing on awakening is a small breakfast, consisting of tea, fruits, biscuits, cakes, roast wheat and butter; then lunch between two and three in the afternoon; again tea and fruits near evening; dinner is served between ten and midnight. Though I myself only eat one full meal a day, with occasional refreshments, my courtiers and the members of my family eat two full meals with refreshments and fruits in between times.

"The way the dinner is served, is this: The dishes are placed upon the table, which is covered by a table-cloth, the table being large enough for all to sit at. After this, the servants bring hot water and pour this over the hands of the diners. The food is then served. The dinner over, the servants again bring hot water, so that the guests may wash their hands.

"In my sitting-room and bedroom, as well as in those of the members of my family, all sorts of decorations are placed; also singing birds. If at meal-times any foreigners are present, then they are cordially invited at our table, but should such be non-Moslems, although they are none the less welcome, they sit at a different table in the same room.

"For the various members of my family, in addition to food, clothing, horses and houses, there is a special monthly cash allowance granted by the Government according to their respective positions. Both my eldest sons, Habibullah and Nasrullah, are paid 20,000 rupees a month for their pocket expenses, and their wives and officials are paid separately. The female members of my family are given allowances from 3,000 to 8,000 rupees in addition to their food, homes, servants' salaries, etc. Some ladies of my family dress in European fashion. Others keep to the Oriental dress.

"On the great Idd festivals, and on New Year's Day, the members of my family receive presents of jewellery and dresses. In the earlier part of my reign, I used to pay visits to my harem about thrice a week, but, as I grew more and more preoccupied with the affairs of the State, these visits were cut down to one or two a month. But now my time is so full that I only pay two or three visits in the year to my family. The rest of the year I occupy the same rooms in which I work, both day and night.

"My female relations, however, come and pay regular visits to me, ten or twelve times in the year for a few hours at a time. My two sons, Habibullah and Nasrullah, come to see me once and sometimes twice every day. My youngest sons and grandsons visit me about twice a week for a few minutes. As I am always busy they sit down and play for a short time. Sometimes they wrestle with each other and sometimes with me. Then they are sent back to their own homes.

"My sons and grandsons are brought up in this way: From the day of their births, nurses are appointed for them. Once or twice only are they to take the children to their mothers and occasionally they bring them to me. A chaprasi, a tutor, a guardian are appointed for each child's benefit.

"Habibullah Khan, my eldest son, has the same duties to perform as I or other Amirs of Afghanistan have had to do. The Foreign Office I have kept to myself. The work of my heir, Habibullah Khan, is as follows: He attends the Durbar about ten in the morning, dismissing it about four or five in the afternoon. On Mondays and Thursdays his secretaries read to him all the applications that may have arrived by

post or through couriers from Herat, Kandahar, Balkh, Ghazni, Jalallabad, India, and other parts of my dominions."

This rather long extract from the writings of the Amir gives something of the atmosphere of Afghanistan at that time—the atmosphere into which Nadir Shah was shortly to enter.

CHAPTER III

The Star Rises

In virtue of that masterly vigour with which Amir Abdar Rahman Khan had stamped his will upon the Afghan state, when he died in 1901, the throne passed to his son and heir, Amir Habibullah Khan, without any uprising. "If you want that your son should hold the throne as you did," the old Amir is said to have observed, "then you must train your heir in the art of wise government during your life-time." And although the remark may not be quite original, it is to the abiding glory of that remarkable Afghan ruler that particularly in this respect he practised what he had preached; for the reign of his immediate descendant is marked with that sagacity and wise government which had made Abdar Rahman the envy of the diplomats of his age.

Thus, we find that when Amir Habibullah ascended the throne of Kabul, he started his reign with a right step forward. Habibullah Khan realised at the outset of his régime that although the root of the state was firmly planted by his father, and the subjugation of refractory elements had given Afghanistan a political unity; yet a great deal of constructive work for nation-building had to be done.

For this task, however, he needed men, men who would work with a national fervour, men in whose bosoms glowed the fire of real service for the fatherland.

In the country itself, no doubt, there were a number of useful and experienced men; but in the heart of many of them resided a canker for personal aggrandisement because it was but recently that their outlook had been disturbed in direct proportion to their allegiance to one or other claimant to the throne on the advent of Amir Abdar Rahman Khan into Afghanistan.

During the disquiet beginning from Amir Dost Mohammed Khan's time—1826—down almost to the close of the nineteenth century many Afghan nobles had been flung out of their country; one such family was that of Sirdar Yahya Khan—the grandfather of Nadir Khan—who, as has already been mentioned, lived in an involuntary exile at Dehra Dun in north India.

To such and others Amir Habibullah Khan addressed a request to return to their country, for he knew that Sirdar Yahya Khan's family longed for the service of a nation in the welfare of which they had a real stake.

It indeed was a joyous day for Nadir Khan's family when in the early days of autumn in 1901 they crossed the frontier. "The sight of those barren rocks," wrote young Nadir years after the date to a friend in India, "gripped me. For me," he added, "these rocks as they ride over one and another to their lonely glory seem to have a message, a command, too, saying, 'Nadir! Come! Come to thy destiny, to thy duty.' Lad as I am," he continued, "sensations rose in mind upon beholding the land of Afghanistan that beggar description, for as I rode behind the mount of my illustrious father Kabulward between those mighty crags, those mere heaps of clay and earth and stone appeared to be alive to me—alive like a sun of hope, which as I journeyed towards them seemed to cast the shadow of our burden behind

into a dim and distant valley in India where I had no business to have lived so long without serving my country." It sounds like the aphorisms of a hoary sage in place of being merely the effusions of a youth; still, looking back to the whole plethora of events which terminated with his being exalted to the highest rank to which an Afghan may reach—a kingship—it is not surprising that his sensations, even at the age of eighteen, were not those of an ordinary man.

His father, Sirdar Mohammed Yusuf Khan, and uncle, Sirdar Asif Khan, were immediately given their rightful places in the government of the country upon the arrival of the family at Kabul. Nadir Khan's brothers, too, received such opportunities of national service as were consonant with their outstanding educational acquirements; but young Nadir, now ripening to the useful age, seemed to have captivated the approval of the then Afghan ruler in no small a degree, for not only did Amir Habibullah Khan give him a commission in the army but attached him to the regiment of his own Royal Bodyguard as a captain.

Nor did Nadir bask in the warming beams of his father's influence at the Court, for when he was not wanted at the palace, he was either at the parade ground or immersed in his books of military training. He had made up his mind to become the first soldier in the realm by dint of his own skill. He took his soldiering very seriously. A story which reflects upon his earlier years is so characteristic of the mind of the man that it has become almost a classic amongst the Afghan warriors.

His sister Ulya Jinab, which had become the Queen of Afghanistan, was visiting her father's house, and

being extra fond of Nadir asked in vain to see him. He did not know of her arrival, and as usual was in his study poring over his military books. None was allowed to approach the room. But sisters can take liberties. She went herself to her favourite brother's study. He had gone to his duty at the palace. "Gone!" she cried; "Gone in this snow and wind," protested the dear lady; "and I, the Queen, can't get him a softer job!" One of the younger brothers drew the Queen's attention to Nadir's bed: "See what he still sleeps on?" A couple of army blankets were thrown over a hard board; a copy of the Koran hung on a peg over the head-piece of where this soldier slept—the soldier of Islam—and he, the Commander of the King's Bodyguard, the son of the most influential courtier, the brother of the Queen of Afghanistan. Later, as Ulya Jinab with her entourage was on her way to the palace, Nadir Khan's mount pranced out of the parade-ground. Seeing the cavalcade of the Queen, he halted, presenting arms as the royal carriage passed, as behoves a captain. The Queen had gone to her abode without a chance of speaking to her soldier brother!

The earnest endeavour which he put in all his work, and the selfless devotion which he showed towards Amir Habibullah Khan soon won a place for him, for the ruler, who watched every move of his workers, whether of nobility or of other, appreciating his zeal in training his men, and the careful discharge of his palace duties, promoted Nadir Khan to the rank of a Colonel within two years of his joining up. He was given the entire charge of training a battalion, which he promised to prepare as the model section of the Afghan army.

He believed in iron discipline of the soldier. Walking round the camp one night, he saw that a sentry disliked the constant flashes of lightning. In order to cure the man, he ordered that the soldier should be on duty on every occasion when artillery practice took place. On another occasion when he and an old woman were taking shelter in the same doorway: "I suppose the rain will melt you," said the toothless woman to the muffled-up Colonel in the dark. "Stand out, sir," she scowled. "Don't you see that I am a fat person, and two can't stand in one doorway?"

Then she offered to give him some curd from the receptacle that she carried, if he—"a lump of a young man", in preference to her, "an aged and half crippled woman"—could convey a letter to whoso granted leave to soldiers to let her son come to her the next day after midday prayer to join the celebrations of her daughter's marriage. "Maybe he won't come!" spoke the woman. "My son is like his father. He is proud, very proud. And won't like to join the marriage party because, because," sobbed the woman, "I have only eight silver pieces as dowry for my beloved daughter!"

It so happens that in old Kabul everybody knows everybody: and next day the young soldier not only came to join the marriage ceremony but brought sixteen gold coins as dowry to help his aged mother from "whoso granted leave to soldiers". How did Nadir Khan know, wondered, the poor woman. Her son pleaded ignorance: and when the Commander of the Royal Bodyguard made an entry of his month's pay that day, he wrote: "Sixteen pound worth of curd bought to-day."

These and many other incidents of like nature had

endeared him and his family both to the Afghan monarch and the people. Any message, any appeal that the people wanted to convey to Amir Habibullah Khan, was enthusiastically taken by this young Afghan officer, for he knew the way of the heart through which alone the great can keep in touch with the poor and the needy of their race: for Nadir, although a prince, was brought up in the hard and severe traditions in order to be in tune with the mind of the common people. When once reminded that his dignity as a man of royal blood should not permit him to share tea with the ordinary soldiers: "But who am I?" he asked: "am I not an Afghan, the son of the same soil as these men? And that they were born to poorer parentage," he added, "is an incident over which they had no control!" At the time he was sharing his fur coat with a sergeant—a sergeant who, many years after that incident, it is odd to say, saved the life of Nadir Khan during a severe battle in southern Afghanistan. So, in my peculiar Afghan way, let me add, that when you are showing a little kindness, a little charity of thought or action, you do not know what you are buying.

With the progress of years and activity Nadir Khan's real self was unfolding itself. Almost daily his prestige was increasing both at court and in the kingdom; till the Amir either at the Durbar or at pic-nic parties would not be without his devoted Nadir. The army, too, loved him: for his unprecedented skill in training, his clear judgement, his devotion to the welfare and comfort of his men was unheard of in the annals of Afghan military history.

At one time of his reign Amir Habibullah Khan reposed so much confidence in the house of Sirdar

Yusaf Khan—the father of Nadir Khan—that even the heir to the throne, Sirdar Inayatullah Khan, was considered to be his paramount than even the most junior member of Nadir's family. A pertinent occasion is in my mind. It was during the wedding celebrations of Sirdar Mohammed Omar Khan, his younger brother.

Bibi Halima, the Amir's stepmother being a direct descendant of Amir Dost Mohammed Khan, was a considerable power even though her son, Mohammed Omar Khan, could not secure the throne; and she was determined to celebrate her son's marriage in no ordinary fashion. In point of fact it was to be made an occasion so memorable to its beholders that never should they forget it, so it was contended, all their lives.

For three successive days the procession was to go through the streets of Kabul; for three days there was to be a public holiday, and rejoicing. It started every day early in the forenoon, and took the longest route to the bride's palace. On the third and the final day the Afghan monarch himself headed it.

The Amir was seated in an open carriage, a strong guard of the Royal cavalry surrounded him. Along with him sat the author of *Leaves from an Afghan Scrapbook*, —not the bridegroom-elect—but Sirdar Nasrullah Khan, Sirdar Mohammed Yusaf Khan and Sirdar Asif Khan —the father and the uncle of Nadir Khan.

Next followed another carriage, in which were seated Sirdar Inayatullah Khan, and other members of the royal family: and the third carriage bore the bridegroom bored by it all. A sudden storm sprang up, and as the severity of it disturbed the colourfulness of the situation by the horses of the Amir's carriage

becoming restive, the monarch alighted and selected Nadir Khan's horse as his mount and rode away to the palace attended by no one else but Nadir Khan, the trusted officer of his court.

For the benefit of the uninitiated in Afghan affairs, let it be added here, that this action of the Afghan ruler to select a particular man out of a thousand others to escort him to his palace is not only the highest honour granted to an officer but it testifies to the utmost confidence which an Afghan sovereign may repose in that person as he did in Nadir Khan. Whilst the Amir rested at his palace, with his dutiful Nadir at guard, the procession soon began to move, as the storm had now abated as soon as it had appeared: and, in the language of Mrs. Thorton, one saw many interesting scenes.

The highest regard in which Nadir Khan was held by Amir Habibullah is evinced by another incident when the Amir was out shooting near Jalalabad in the Eastern Province. The day was a hot one, and as the sealed bottles of the Amir's drinking water had not been brought, a trooper rode to the adjoining village for some cool sherbet. According to the custom, to dispel all suspicion of poison in "unsealed water" the courtiers offered to drink of it first. Their wishes were granted except that of Nadir Khan. "Give me the receptacle!" laughingly remarked the Amir, "and let me drink first and not Nadir Khan. You may get a good king," he said, "but not a good Moslem soldier and lover of Afghanistan like him." Fortunately the water was good, and both the Amir and Nadir Khan lived to enjoy years of useful life. Yet these incidents, though small in themselves, must serve to show the high consideration

which Nadir Khan, still a young and a comparatively junior officer, had earned from a king whose word was law in the God-Gifted Kingdom of Kabul.

But whether it is true or not that jealousy is a familiar kind of heat which disfigures, licks playfully and boils a man as a fire does a pot, one thing is certain, that in the fact of an unqualified recognition of Nadir Khan's services, the Amir had made jealousy spring in the mind of many of the nobles who had grown fat in inactivity, and preferred to live idle and purposeless lives rather than face hardships in building up the structure of the state as did the house of Sirdar Yusuf Khan.

One such section was that of the family of General Ghulam Haider Khan Charkhi, the Sipah Salar or Commander-in-Chief under the Amir Abdar Rahman Khan, and his ruthless servant—the Red Chief of Kipling's "Ballad of the King's Jest". The Logar family of the Charkhis took a particular dislike to Nadir Khan and what he stood for; and of their exploits we shall read a good deal in the later part of this book; because from this stock arose four brothers, Ghulam Jilani, Ghulam Nabi, Ghulam Saddig and Abdul Aziz Khan: for it was Ghulam Nabi who invaded his own native country from the Russian direction, and after his execution for treason, his slave-boy was to assassinate the wisest king of our time as Mohammed Nadir Shah Ghazi—the subject of this book—is undoubtedly considered by all patriotic Afghans.

Setting all objections to naught the Amir made up his mind that no man other than Nadir Khan be the Chief of his military staff during his visit to India in the autumn of 1906. To be the Commander of an "exhibition-army" unit which consisted of the

best trained and picked soldiers of Afghanistan was no small honour to Nadir Khan scarce more than twenty-three years in age: and one to whom the point was mentioned very aptly quoted Sadi's saying: "Greatness is acquired through intelligence and intellect, not by wearing a grey beard."

At every tournament, in every military competition in which the Afghan regiment under Nadir Khan made its appearance in India during the Amir's visit, they elicited approval by the highest English commanders. "If I had the kind of soldiers under my command such as the Amir has," wrote Lord Kitchener—the then Commander-in-Chief in India, "the results of my battles would be so decisive as to make peace permanent till man no longer inhabited this globe. As to their Colonel, that youth Mohammed Nadir, as he rode past the stand, the silvery sword in hand, I envied him. So erect, so soldierly did he look, as if he had grown in the saddle. With him," he continued, "leaving his hill warriors shouting Allaho-Akbar through the passes, this young Sirdar would not only be a grand sight, he would be a menace to his enemy." Perhaps thoughts crossed, as bending slightly: "Did you must have seen Colonel Nadir Khan, my special body-guard Colonel?" asked the Afghan ruler in his rudimentary English. Lord Kitchener merely nodded and smiled, as they were rising to salute at the close of the parade.

But lionised as Nadir Khan was everywhere that he went, it never changed his behaviour; the higher he rose in rank the more humble did he grow. "If you stand in prayer half as many times," he once said to a servant of his, "as you stand when I enter the courtyard, you would have been saint ten years ago." And yet he

had a high regard of his rank, the rank detached from his personal self, as it were. "If I disgrace this uniform by running away from my duty," he addressed the officers under him, "I disgrace my religion, my country, the two most precious things for which a man must live and die."

It was in the full glow of these sentiments that Nadir Khan accompanied his monarch into India; and the manifestation of such feelings which Amir Habibullah Khan shared with him that made the master and the Colonel so dear to the Moslems of India, for Amir Habibullah not only put the Anglo-Oriental College of Aligarh in north India to test as a seat of Moslem learning, but indirectly he himself underwent a test under the searching eyes of devout followers of Islam. The recounting of facts regarding the Amir's visit to the M.A.O. College will clear this point.

As is perhaps known, that the college founded by Sir Syed Ahmed Khan at Aligarh was the only Moslem institution of its kind in India, and word had gone round that the theological education at that college was not all that it should be. Contrary to that view the successor of Sir Syed, Nawab Mohsinul Mulk, held that the college was Islamic both in teaching and outlook, and that theological teaching imparted there was very satisfactory. The Amir was persuaded by Nadir Khan to pay a visit to that cradle of Islamic learning.

For weeks together, I, in common with other Afghan students, was thrilled with the idea of seeing the monarch of the God-Gifted Kingdom so far from our native heath. The great day was yet far off, when hanging bunting and decoration in the various halls of the college, parading with the college Guard of Honour,

and lining up the passages in rehearsal, most of the students busied themselves, considering it labour of love.

Came the day. The early morning prayer was over. Roll-call took place, a thousand and more students, clad in black frock-coats and red fezes, lined the long path of the chief quadrangle that led the illustrious visitor from the gate to Strachey Hall.

Exactly at quarter-past ten a cavalcade of the Afghans rode past us, Nadir Khan leading them, the morning sun playing on his bared sword, a glint of warrior-pride in his eyes. A command, they dismount; in a single file they take a position behind us. As a small boy, I remember that my tarboosh just reached the shoulder of the giant Afghan highlander. In a whisper I spoke felicitous words to him in Persian. Then a hush fell upon the people. They were playing the Afghan national anthem. The Amir Sahib had reached the gate, Nadir Khan by his side.

Slowly as the Amir passed through our files on his way to the hall, where he was to receive an address of welcome, Nawab Mahdi Ali Khan talked to him in Persian explaining the various activities of the college. I was too young to appreciate the stratagem, but the college authorities had planned that the Amir was to be taken straight to the hall, an address was to be presented to him, and being pleased by his reception he was sure to make complimentary remarks about the college, which would be used as a proof of the fact that all was well with the institution. But the Amir was not a ruler of a Kingdom for nothing.

Just at the door of the hall when the trustees of the college were being presented to him, His Majesty turned to Nadir Khan: "Have you brought the Koran,

Sharief?" he asked. The Colonel replied in the affirmative. "Let me hear one of your students recite the Koran first," remarked the Amir to the Secretary of the college. He was not going to give the credential of good religious education without examining.

Sudden though the tactics were, the Nawab rose to the occasion and asked the Qari, or the Divine who taught the boys to recite the Holy Book of the Moslems, to bring one of his worst pupils to the adjoining Lyton library, where His Majesty might hear the Koran recited.

As it happened, I certainly was his worst pupil, in the sense that on most occasions when I took a sick leave, I devoted the time to playing cricket under the mango trees behind my rooms. But I knew the Book well, also I could recite it more melodiously than most, as my good father had employed a Syrian teacher specially to teach me the Koran.

Trailing behind the Molvi Sahib, or the Divine, when I arrived before the Afghan monarch for a moment I was dumbfounded. On a golden chair sat the Amir, glittering uniforms were everywhere. Nadir Khan, as usual, standing just behind His Majesty and an array of Sirdars, courtiers, military officers, English officials, college professors and in front of them I a boy of small age ready to recite, little knowing that even a trifle mistake on my part may have far reaching consequences.

Salutations over, "What are you going to recite, my son?" asked the Amir. I said it is Sura Rahman. "Bisyar khub. Bikhan!—Very good. Recite!" he said. Hurriedly the Amir turned the pages of the Koran to the chapter, to examine, I suppose, whether I was going to recite correctly.

Slowly I began, perhaps a little falteringly; the Amir following. Then something strengthened me, I regained my confidence. The boyish voice rose in melody, it vibrated in the large hall. I closed my eyes, louder and louder I recited, swaying with the zest and the rhythm of it all.

I had finished. The Amir was drying his eyes. The passage had moved him to tears. For quite five minutes no one spoke. His Majesty was deeply affected like a good Moslem as he was: and when I knelt to kiss Amir Habibullah Khan's hand, it was Nadir Khan who gave me some gold coins as the mark of the Afghan monarch's approval. "Zinda Bash, Bachaem!—May you live long, my son," was the sentence with which the Amir approved my recitation.

Shortly afterwards we were in the main hall where His Majesty, attended by his courtiers and led by Nadir Khan, took his seat on the dais. The anxiety on the brows of the college trustees appeared to have abated very considerably. A very important Indian noble, Nawab Mazammilullah Khan, then read the address in Persian. When the Light of Religion and Nation, as His Majesty Amir Habibullah's was entitled, rose to reply to the address of welcome, Nadir Khan also rose with him.

The Amir spoke slowly in Persian, his mother-tongue. He thanked the college executives for giving him such a good reception, he was delighted with all he saw, and having examined for himself the theological attainments of the students of the institution, he was satisfied, more than satisfied, that instruction was being given in true Islamic fashion. "If henceforth anyone says," he added with that vigour characteristic of him,

"that Aligarh does not provide good religious education, I shall shut his mouth, I shall shut his mouth; I, the Amir, have spoken thus." The delicate handling of interpretation of the speech from the throne was entrusted to no other man than Nadir Khan—for the Amir knew that Nadir Khan could be relied upon in weighing his words: and Nadir did not belie the confidence reposed in him: for almost every sentence of the gallant Colonel's rendering was punctuated with applause.

The cultural legacy of the great Moslem educationalist Sir Syed Ahmed received the highest tribute when a Moslem king had thus spoken of its activities. It sent a thrill through the length and breadth of India: and I well remember my childlike vanity when replying to the compliments of my friends. "Only an Afghan could have done what I did," I distinctly recollect having said as I sat treating my class-mates with sweets and fruits out of my gold coin "earnings".

And although the Amir had returned to Afghanistan leaving behind him in India memories that had awakened certain very definite Islamic sentiments, those who were competent to judge had observed, even then, that the world would hear more of Nadir Khan and his work. To hear such opinions expressed in India at that early period of the Afghan political dawn was significant of much: which can only be understood by following the career of this truly amazing man in his own country of Afghanistan.

Amir Habibullah Khan was not the man to keep anyone in doubt as to what he thought of their services; so, as Nadir Khan's work had been found to be immensely satisfactory, both during the Afghan monarch's tour

in India, and later in the provinces early in 1910, Nadir Khan was promoted to the rank of a general. Few even in Afghanistan have attained that degree of promotion at an early age of twenty-seven years. But Nadir Shah was fast proving himself an exceptional man.

Walking through the cavalry stables at an unusual hour almost the next day of his promotion, he saw a groom performing his work somewhat carelessly: "Do not bend double in salutation to me!" he said to the man; "leave your congratulations alone and do your work properly. If I could not attend to my horse better than you can yours, I could not be a general." It was an amazing sight to the members of his staff when they saw their highly-placed Commander massaging the horse like an ordinary trooper whilst the groom holding the lantern over him took lessons from General Nadir Khan as to how horses are to be attended. This little incident alone ought to have reminded the acute observers that such a selfless worker held a great purpose at heart, and must one day lead his people to a glorious era. But jealousy blinds men's eyes: for almost immediately those who had lived by flattery and soft words of, "Balay, Sahib—Yes, master!" at the court to everything that was spoken, and beyond being the sons of such or such ancient general had no more credentials, started to undermine the prestige of General Nadir Khan. But the time soon came to test the skill of the man whose only reproach was his youthful years.

The Amir had ordered a Durbar—a secret meeting of his ministers. Till late at night they sat on that fateful date in 1913 discussing what might be done to check a revolt in the southern province of Mangal which was gaining strength almost hourly. Sirdar

Mohammed Akbar Khan, the governor of the province, in Khost; Shahghasi Khaja Mohammed Khan in Jaji, and Nazim Dost Mohammed Khan in Gardraiz, with all the available Government troops, were surrounded by the revolutionaries. A march to the capital of Kabul would have meant a general uprising in the entire kingdom, and with that not only dethronement of the Afghan king but the expulsion of his House from the country were all ugly possibilities.

Where the grey-beards had failed, what chance could a force have under a young general—though he was a man of great energy and more education than they—yet the men of the Court thought hope for his success was small, against almost half of the tribal area, linked as it was, with the independent regions of the clans and British India. And so they said to the Amir. Nadir Khan listened on for a while.

Those present on the occasion relate that it was like a flash that Nadir Khan rose to his feet. Without being asked to speak, he was addressing the distressed Amir: "Your Majesty, I am sure, will forgive the liberty that I am taking in addressing these observations without being asked, but the situation is extraordinary," he said, "and extraordinary behaviour may thus be resorted to. This revolt in the southern province is decidedly menacing; but a danger must be faced. We have not exhausted all our resources. I am still alive. My soldiers wish to have an opportunity of showing that they, too, like me, can be useful in their service to their fatherland. If God wills—and I feel inwardly that He will help our arms as our cause is just—this humble servant of the nation can squash the revolt in a very short time. Your Majesty's permission to us to go to

battle alone can vindicate the statement which I have made." The Grey-beards shook their heads in disapproval: then one bolder than the rest said that although they did not in the least doubt the faithfulness of General Nadir Khan's suggestion, yet experience had its definite place in the affairs of men. "Besides," so smoothly he used the hyperbole, "is not the warmest of sentiments displayed by our young General due to that mere ardour of youthfulness with which so many of his class-mates have endeared themselves to us?" But the Amir was of a different mind.

Next day, when General Nadir Khan marched out of Kabul at the head of his detachment on his way to the scene of Mangal revolt in the southern province of Afghan, very mixed were the sentiments of those who waved good-bye to him. There were those who were glad that his place was vacant at the Court, presenting an opportunity to them for discrediting his activities and thus adding something to their own prestige built up as it was on flattery and opportunism: others were gathering subversive forces to evict the Amir at the first sign of a reverse which, in their opinion, would certainly be inflicted upon this, the final attempt of the Amir to steady his throne: for what could a man of thirty do where warriors of age and experience had failed? Habibullah had to go; with him all whom he acknowledged as "the true servants of the nation" must give place to the lotus-eaters.

Few really doubted that Amir Habibullah Khan would not survive this attack of the combined forces of the entire clans, ranged as they were against his tottering régime. To pin his faith in the prowess of one whom he had but recently promoted to the rank of

a General, was like sailing in a cardboard craft amidst the leaping waves of the ocean. But the unexpected happened, as it always does when a man of destiny appears at the crest of dawn to fulfil his purpose.

General Nadir Khan's first action was to distribute warnings to the recalcitrant clans, in which he assured them of the peaceful intentions of the King if they behaved in a peaceful manner, set their captives free, banished the mischief-mongers, and if they had any grievances then they are to come and settle these either with him, or with the officials at the capital. "I do not wish to shed blood. It is unIslamic, it is wrong: but I must tell you that the Government is responsible for the safety of the inhabitants of Afghanistan, that it is a Government established on the Law of Islam which will not brook any disturbances in which the well-being of its subjects may be imperilled. Your revolutionary forces have set your faces against that Islamic Government—against the Law of God and the saying of the Prophet; so that unless by mild advice I can persuade you to do the right bidding, blood must be let out in order to cure the patients."

The situation was far too corrupted to be remedied by such appeals. The clans gathered to attack and to annihilate the small forces of the General. In the neighbourhood of Tindan Fort a short and sharp engagement took place, during which so much skill was exhibited by General Nadir Khan that the exellence of the plan and tactics terminated what looked to be a mighty rebellion bent upon wrecking the Government of Amir Habibullah Khan, and it is on record that no revolt of similiar magnitude was ever crushed with fewer casualties as this one in The Logar Valley.

Within a few days of this decisive battle practically all the clans surrendered, including men of Ahmedzai, Tota Khail, and Mangal. The General issued orders immediately that his men should under no circumstances touch either the life or property of the vanquished clansmen, and that a general *Jirgah*, or tribal gathering, should be convened at which the grievances, if any, of the people would be heard and justice meted out. In addition, General Nadir Khan promised to exercise his influence at the Court in favour of the tribesmen, if no further resistence was offered, and the southern province once again returned to its usual submissive allegience to the Crown of Afghanistan.

The triumphant return to the capital of the victorious General Nadir Khan was marked with enthusiasm of which one considered the cold Afghans incapable. The whole town was beflagged, both public and private buildings were illuminated; and everywhere were scenes of rejoicing. The officer commanding the expeditionary force to Mangal front—General Nadir Khan—was exalted to the rank of an Assistant Field-Marshal.

At a State Durbar when Amir Habibullah Khan, after decorating the Marshal Nadir Khan, and after giving high praise to him and the men under his command, permitted Nadir Khan to speak: "Your Majesty, that there should be a general rejoicing at our return home," he said, "is only natural. That this humble servant of the nation should be so greatly honoured reflects the more upon the graciousness of our monarch's kindly appreciation. But if anyone in this Durbar," and he continued with feeling, "believes that we rejoice for having made war, I will say that that will be a lie. Neither I nor men under me shall ever fight

against those who abide by the dictates of religion—a religion on which our laws are based. Those men of Mangal who sit amongst us here, should always consider me and other Afghans as limbs made of the same blood and bone. This was no war, we merely wanted to correct a section of our own people who, misguided by un-Islamic and un-Afghan men, had girdled their loins to disturb the peace of their brothers. I thank Allah that they have reverted to the right path, the guidence of which is worthily directed by your Majesty. So if I rejoice, I rejoice because we have reclaimed our brothers, not that we have subdued them in war, and thus we welcome them here."

Short and decisive though the Marshal Nadir Khan's attack on Mangal had been, it should be remembered that his method of dealing with the vanquished had been so unusual that the clansmen in place of becoming embittered were actually thankful to him. There were two reasons for it. The Marshal had realised that there must be some good reason for the revolt, which should be remedied otherwise a lasting peace was impossible. Secondly, the light of education not having penetrated amongst those hill folks, they must be given the benefit of education and learning in order to let them appreciate the more their place in bringing progress and prosperity to the country. Both of these readings of the situation were correct, and both were fulfilled as soon as Marshal Nadir Khan placed his schemes before Amir Habibullah Khan.

The land taxes and other disabilities under which the people of Khost had groaned—and their voices could not penetrate the cordon of place-seekers at the Court—were adjusted according to the people's desires.

The Marshal undertook the task of starting a school for the sons of the Mangal gentry at Kabul, which so greatly gratified the one day recalcitrant men that they came forward on their own accord and signified their gratitude for the Marshal's kindness before the Amir. In the like manner another school was started by the Marshal for the sons of the nobles of Nuristan—which prior to the reign of Amir Habibullah Khan was called Kafiristan, or the Land of the Infidels. The Royal military school of Kabul, too, owes its origin to the energy of the Marshal Nadir Khan. But in its executive when much intrigue crippled its efficiency, the Marshal preferred to keep himself aloof from its many undesirable facets: but regarding it and its Chief, Mahmud Sami, we shall have occasion a little later to speak.

As the birthday celebrations of His Majesty coincided with the welcoming of the army to the capital, it is perhaps interesting to describe the gay scenes of other days in Afghanistan, for many of them have already passed to the limbo of forgetfulness, which is the fate of most picturesque occasions of a nation when it introduces itself to a newer age.

The gardens were illuminated with thousands of fairy lamps and Chinese lanterns leading the way to the large Madars, where many ushers, bedecked in glittering uniforms of many designs and hues, showed the honoured guests to their seats in the Durbar Shamiyana. Precisely at nine the monarch of the God-Gifted Kingdom, dressed in a Field-Marshal's uniform with not a few rows of medals on his breast, wearing a black astrakhan hat on the side of which dazzled a large cluster of diamonds, strode to the dais and sat on the golden throne. A hush fell upon the men of

Durbar as a brief verse of the Koran was read by a Court Reciter.

An address of congratulation, and embodying many loyal phrases on the occasion of the royal birthday, was read by the most Senior Courtier. Then the heir to the throne, Sirdar Inayatullah Khan, did homage by bending low before the throne; his uncle, Sirdar Nasrullah Khan, did likewise, and when Assistant-Marshal Nadir Khan, placing his sword upon his knee, signified the loyalty of the Afghan troops, it is within the memory of most who heard it from the lips of the Amir himself, "Arise, arise my gallant son, for thou art the pride of thy country," spoke the Afghan monarch, and such speech was unprecedented in Afghan Court history, especially for Amir Habibullah Khan who was over-particular in matter of form during a Durbar. It was during that Durbar, too, that the title of Sirdar was conferred upon Assistant-Marshal Nadir Khan.

Both during the campaign of Logar and at the head-quarters Nadir Khan was ever watchful of his soldiers' interests and comforts. As soon as he could manage it a recommendation for the increase in the pay of soldiers was made, which was accepted. Schools were installed in the camps for higher education, recreation grounds, playing-fields, mosques and proper quarters were built for the men; and above all it was only from the time of Nadir Khan that proper uniform was provided to various units of the Afghan army. At last, before two years elapsed, it was clear to everyone that the old Marshal Amir Mohammed Khan was really too old for active work. There was no one more worthy to wear the mantle of the veteran Amir Mohammed Khan than Sirdar Nadir Khan, who was duly installed

as the Commander-in-Chief of Afghan forces at a grand parade by the heir to the throne, Sirdar Inayatullah Khan, at Kabul; thus we note that within eleven years of his joining the army, he held the Field-Marshal's baton in his hand. Such a remarkable feat may have been equalled but not surpassed in world's history.

CHAPTER IV

Military Reforms and the Great War

The very first activities of Sirdar Mohammed Nadir Khan, after having been appointed as the Commander-in-Chief of the Afghan army, was to address himself very energetically to introducing reforms in practically all military affairs of the State. He issued an Army Order containing no less than thirty-five clauses, in which the whole field of the work was set on a newer and better footing. It embraced such matters as the military budget, and its increase or decrease according to circumstances; the promotion of officer's rank was made dependent upon terms of service or conspicuous services rendered during a war; the sending of fort-nightly reports to the Headquarters; the establishment and care of barracks and military camps; the new scale of pay and leave regulations; modern equipment of military hospitals and transport; military translation bureau and library; adult education amongst the soldiers, and appointing of definite times for manœuvres and parades of inspection—all these matters were amongst the new scheme which he set in motion.

Frequently he persuaded His Majesty Amir Habibullah Khan to inspect his army, so that, according to the wise dictum of Amir Abdur Rahman Khan, "the King should know the face of every soldier; but if that is not possible, at least every soldier should know the face of his King. That is possible," said the Amir,

"only if soldiers can see the face of their ruler often!" Thus it became a rule rather than an exception, as previously, that the Amir appeared at the parade many more times than his duties conveniently permitted him, for he knew that Nadir Khan's judgment and advice was of value; because it is a truism in Afghanistan that a monarch who is careless of the welfare of his army is never secure upon his throne.

Then came the Great World War. Even the most elementary knowledge of Eastern affairs will convince the reader that the Afghan attitude towards the war in a sense governed the entire question of Great Britain's possessions in Asia. There was a real threat to India; and British administrators in control of affairs in India then will testify to the fact that it was the neutrality of Amir Habibullah Khan which helped the peace of Hindustan in no inconsiderable a degree.

The benevolent autocracy of Habibullah Khan had to be exercised with discretion and maintained with tact. In the palace he found it necessary to act the part of a diplomatist. Like the Eastern potentates of old, he had to respect the views of influential counsellors and maintain the balance of power between these representatives of conflicting interests. Nadir Khan alone could speak his mind frankly and freely: and it was his advice that prevailed in the end.

The confidence reposed in the Amir by the masses of the people was undoubtedly a source of strength to him, because the prestige of the Commander-in-Chief was behind the throne. Under the advice of Nadir Khan, the King had ever promoted peaceful and orderly conditions of life. In the old days, lurid memories of which are now recalled with shrugs of

horror, tribal warfare was frequent and bloody in Afghanistan. Prince rose against prince in the palace, and waded his way through the blood of kinsmen to the throne. A nightmare of persistent intrigue and disastrous feuds enveloped the whole land. In short, in those bad old days no one, as the Eastern proverb puts it, "trusted even his own shadow". Generations were born simply to fight; the Afghans fingered keen-edged weapons from their infancy.

The administration of Abdur Rahman Khan, continued by his enlightened successor, Habibullah Khan, had happily transformed Afghanistan and turned the energies of a virile people towards peaceful and elevating pursuits. The Amir's policy, both in home affairs and in his foreign relations, was fully understood and appreciated by the people because the public knew that the Marshal had guided it; and Sirdar Nadir Khan's word was respected without question by everyone.

The sagacity which piloted the shrewd mind of the Afghan Commander-in-Chief in regard to international matters obtaining then may be reviewed here; for they go a long way in attesting to his keen insight into the world politics, the appreciation of which it was that made him virtually the first counsellor of the King.

It seemed even after the outbreak of the War that nothing could possibly disturb the wonted attitude of the buffer state of Afghanistan, and that the security of the North-West Frontier of India was assured, especially when the holder of "the keys of the gates of India" made his dramatic declaration on the Kabul bridge. But the whole situation began to undergo a change in consequence of the Russian revolution.

Central Asia had suddenly been drawn into the vortex of international politics.

The first murmur of what may be, or what was really intended to be, a coming storm had already been heard. In its latest "scrap of paper", the peace treaty with one of the mushroom Russian republics, the German Government had gone out of its way to give what should be considered a wholly unnecessary guarantee that it would respect the integrity of Persia and Afghanistan. That seemed to be a case of "protesting too much". It certainly engendered suspicion and was shown to be not without sufficient cause.

Taking Germany's promise for what it was worth, the Amir's adviser noted two things—(1) that it had been considered necessary to make it so as to justify some move not yet unmasked, and (2) that no mention was made of Russian Turkestan or of the Khanate of Bokhara, which was a protectorate of Czarist Russia, and really, in all but name, a Russian province, although governed by an Uzbek Amir. The Amir's adviser could not help feeling that Germany's unsolicited interest in the integrity of his kingdom was far from reassuring. Just as the security of the North-West Frontier depends on the continued maintenance of a free, independent, and strong Afghanistan, so does the security of Afghanistan depend on the maintenance of an unviolated Bokhara and a friendly and unaggressive Turkestan.

Russia's political collapse, which had brought about uncertain conditions in the provinces bordering on Persia and Afghanistan in the beginning, had, therefore, raised problems which were a source of grave anxiety to the Amir. He was well aware that the German threat was not only a possibility, but was already to a

certain degree a reality. For several years past, German agents, in the guise of commercial travellers, had conducted a close investigation of Bokhara and Turkestan. They had hovered, attracted by tempting potentialities, round the borders of Afghanistan, and their propaganda had been scattered broadcast, penetrating even to quarters that the agents themselves had never been able to reach. Berlin had little to learn regarding the sentiments and political aspirations and prejudices of the Khanates and Turkomans, and the commercial and industrial potentialities of Bokhara and Russian Turkestan. No doubt the German Central Asian policy was already well and clearly planned.

Full advantage was certain to be taken by the Germans of the confused situation. The Czarist grip having been relaxed, the first step likely to recommend itself to them was to create a still greater state of chaos in Central Asia which would necessitate, or at least excuse, their active intervention. The diffusion of fresh German propaganda, as was clearly indicated by the Viceroy of India in his address to the Council of Princes at Delhi was known to be already in progress, and the Kaiser's military forces were evidently making frantic efforts to reach the western shores of the Caspian Sea. Russian Turkestan, were that the only ultimate goal of German ambition, would in itself prove to be a rich prize well worth making an effort to secure. Nor would the effort require to be as great as might at first thought appear, to cause this province to drop like ripe fruit into German hands.

Once Turkestan was occupied, Bokhara would prove an easy prey. Indeed, it was probable that the Khan might be drawn into the German net by means of

hypocritical promises and professions of friendship so as to co-operate in securing the penetration of Turkestan. The Khan of Bokhara had long fretted under the overlordship of Czarist Russia. His own and his subjects' politics were pronouncedly anti-Czarist. But for the fact that the Czar's Government kept strong Cossack and European forces in Turkestan he would have asserted, long ere the Russian revolution broke out, the complete independence of his country, which at the time was no doubt a reality. Bokhara, remembering the past and fearing a revival of Russian power, might well be prevailed upon to side with Russia's destroyer.

This spirit of hostility against Russia was shared by the Turkomans of Russian Turkestan. Although the Russians had done so much to develop the commerce and the industrial and agricultural resources of that country, and although they had converted great stretches of erstwhile barren soil into well-irrigated and cotton-growing land, they had not succeeded in winning the sympathies of the people who had maintained what was, after all, only an enforced loyalty.

Their hostility had not been tempered by prosperity; rather it had been intensified by it, even among the wandering Turkomans, who never before had the assured incomes they now derived by securing employment in Russian textile industries, but earned instead a precarious livelihood by attacking the Amir's caravans. Russia, in the days of Czardom, had to lay a firm hand on the province, which, although seething with discontent, was rapidly becoming one of its richest Asian assets. When the revolution broke out, half of Russia's cotton supply was being drawn from Turkestan. For several successive seasons as much as 13,697,000 pods were

sent to Orenburg from Tashkend. Prior to the War, the bulk of the Russian cotton supply was imported from Germany, but from 1914 until the outbreak of the revolution the Russian Government very wisely bestowed great attention on their Mid-Eastern provinces, and especially upon Turkestan, whose cotton output advanced by leaps and bounds.

Germany was thus confronted by the unpleasant prospect that one of the inevitable results of the War would be the ruin of its cotton trade with Russia, owing to the rapid development of Russia's own cotton production. In addition to developing the cotton industries, Russia had also in Turkestan done much for agriculture. Wheat and barley had been grown in rapidly increasing quantities, and the cultivable areas were capable of great extension in the future. Gold and salt were found in the Ural Sea area.

Enough has been said in this connection to indicate that Russian Turkestan was a rich and tempting enough prize to attract the Germans. Berlin, as has been indicated, was well aware of the sentiments of the Turkomans regarding Russia, and was expected to take full advantage of that knowledge. The average Turkoman consistently regarded the Czarist Russians as intruders, and this feeling had hardened into a political principle.

German influence it was feared might have penetrated more rapidly than was fully realised by most. German gold could buy a not inconsiderable degree of Czarist support; it could also purchase the allegiance of influential agitators. In Bokhara German gold might similarly "work magic"; it would undoubtedly accomplish more than German bayonets and with much more

dispatch. Indeed, German gold might have caused trouble as far south as the Khyber.

Of one thing there was no doubt, and that was the gravity of the situation from the Amir's point of view. Let us therefore survey briefly the outlook as it appeared to His Majesty the Amir and to his people. On the north-east of Afghanistan lies the Khanate of Bokhara; to the north and north-west is Russian Turkestan and westward lies Persia; to the south-west is the province of Seistan. By each of these states or provinces the Amir's kingdom was more or less threatened; in certain of them there were smouldering antipathies and rivalries resembling those which had created the Balkan problem in Europe.

On the north, Russian Turkestan had ever been a source of anxiety. The threat from that quarter was a very real one. Until recently it was the outpost in the mid-east of Russian power. To the Afghan it represented "the claw of the Russian 'bear'", which seemed ever to be itching to clutch at a vital point in Afghanistan. The "claw" already held a district, which was wrested from Afghanistan in 1885, when Russian encroachments almost brought about war between Russia and Great Britain. The negotiations conducted between the representatives of those great Powers had, however, a peaceful issue, but unfortunately at the expense of Afghanistan, for the determination of the frontier resulted in a decided gain to Russia. The Afghan town of Penjdeh was lost to the Amir, and its loss is never likely to be forgotten. Wholly Afghan in sympathy as in race, Penjdeh and its area remains pro-Afghan to this day. Its position gave to Russia an immense trading advantage. Situated in the extremely fertile

Hari Rud valley, it was an excellent prize in itself. It has also a decided strategic importance, being situated on the western edge of the Karabel plateau, the whole of which became Russian, although it is the natural frontier of Afghanistan.

Merv lies to the north and is connected with Penjdeh by railway. It was from the Merv area that the Tekke-Turkomans of old were wont to make their predatory attacks on Persia and Afghanistan; Merv is, indeed, the strategic key which unlocks "the gate" to Maruchak and that "gate" is Penjdeh. The Czarist Russians had done their utmost to dominate the commercial life of northern Afghanistan and Persia from the Merv area, and, in accordance with this policy, goods were carried at greatly reduced rates over the Trans-Caspian railway. Thus the great trading centre of Krasnovodsk on the eastern shore of the Caspian Sea was the commercial base for Russian Turkestan, and the starting-point for military expeditions into Central Asia. The Power which dominated the Caspian Sea and held Merv had, either for military or trading purposes in Central Asia, an immense advantage, the value of which could not be over-estimated. If the Germans could reach Baku in force, the commercial penetration of Russian Turkestan would at once become an imminent probability and that of Persia and Afghanistan an assured prospect. The same could be said of a military penetration. In this connection one could not overlook the great scheme referred to in German newspapers at the time, which was to construct a canal from the Baltic to the Black Sea, and another from the Sea of Azov to the Caspian, by utilising the River Don and its tributary the Manitch, which connects a series of long narrow salt lakes. These

canals were future possibilities. At that time it was important to note that the trade of the Caspian Sea was believed to be in the possession of Germans or German agents, and the transportation of a German force from Baku to Krasnovodsk was less an imaginary contingency than was generally supposed in western Europe.

The next area from which a threat was ever possible, as the Amir of Afghanistan fully realised, was Bokhara. It has already been indicated how the Germans could turn to account the anti-Russian sentiments of that province by bringing about in Russian Turkestan chaotic conditions which would be favourable to their policy of aggrandisement. As Herat and Maruchdak were threatened from Merv, so was Balkh from Bokhara city, with Kelif on the frontier as a "spring-board" from which to start.

ANOTHER TURN OF THE AFGHAN KALEIDOSCOPE

The wise Amir had kept his word by observing strict neutrality during the Great War, even when there was a great danger to his country due to outside pressure, as shown by laying bare certain hidden facets of Asia's high-policy of the time. But few people are aware of the fact that the ruler could not have kept the peace without the active help of his commander-in-chief. The great value to the British interests in the East which accrued by the good neighbourliness of Afghanistan at the most critical period of the British Empire is no doubt acknowledged by many Englishmen, but gratitude merely remained in words, not helping us to forget what Amir Shair Ali Khan is said to have

observed: " . . . the friendship with the Ferungi is written on ice. It melts away when the sun shines on it. . . ."

Be that as it may, the unfortunate fact remains that on the night of 19th February, 1919, the dastardly crime of assassinating Amir Habibullah Khan was committed at Lughman. The tragedy was increased in gruesome potentialities by noting the point that the martyrdom of the Amir was contrived to circumscribe the Marshal's noble offices in the working of the Government, for Amanullah now leaped into the saddle to ride for a fall.

After the foul deed was done, we were told that the official recognition of the independence of Afghanistan was just awaiting from the British side, and gold was actually loaded at Peshawar to be taken to Kabul as the Amir's reward. One really can have no patience with such slogans. What good is it to load a man's coffin with gold, when so much could have been done to his nation during his life-time, by even one-tenth; and real friendship and gratitude proved in time?

The scenes that marked the days that followed beggar description. Matters moved in rapid succession. At Jalalabad the assassinated Amir's younger brother, Sirdar Nasrullah Khan, proclaimed himself the ruler, because the heir, Sirdar Inayatullah Khan, vied his claim against his uncle.

Meantime, Amanullah Khan, the third son of his father, was acting as the Governor of Kabul—a key position of the State—and it just so happened that Sirdar Hidayatullah Khan, the second son of the murdered ruler, was on his way to take charge of the

Kabul Governorship from Amanullah when his motor-car "broke down" on the way, before Amanullah, hearing the news, called a giant military parade at the capital.

With tear-dimmed eyes, he narrated the sad news to his troopers. His father had been done to death by a coward; it was a great grief to him, especially as he loved his father above everything. Before ever the murderer of his beloved father was found and tried, he continued, his uncle had proclaimed himself as a king. Was it right, he asked? Was it true to the Afghan traditions, notably when the heir to the throne, his own brother, still lived, and had desire to rule? He unsheathed his sword amidst tears and pronounced that not till the murderer of his father was brought to book would he sheath it. What was the verdict of his nation —a nation the slave of which he was? "What is that nation to decree? What is the pronouncement of his gallant soldiers?" he asked, sobbingly.

"Thy father was our benefactor, our lord," they echoed like one man: "like thee, we shall fight to avenge this wrong. Thy honour is our honour, O our beloved Prince; nay," they said, "you are now our King." The ground for this outburst was well paved.

Amanullah crowned himself King of the Afghans precisely eight days after the assassination of his father.

By his royal command on the 28th February, 1919, he increased the pay of the soldiers to twenty rupees, promised the nation an unqualified national freedom, and to bring the murderer of his father to justice. Orders were immediately despatched to Jalalabad, where Sirdars Nasrullah Khan and Inayatullah Khan, and Marshal Sirdar Mohammed Nadir Khan were arrested, and,

after being brought to Kabul, were imprisoned. A trial ensued, and a Colonel Mohammed Raza, having been found guilty, was executed, after which Sirdars Inayatullah and Mohammed Nadir Khan (the same H. M. Mohammed Nadir Shah who lived to be the King of Independent Afghanistan, and the then trusted Afghan Commander-in-Chief Nadir Khan) were released; but unfortunately Sirdar Nasrullah Khan died in the prison.

And so a new day dawned upon Afghanistan, in which Amanullah preferred to play a lone hand; which brought about a devastating revolution, because the one-time strong and wisely guiding hand was not permitted to serve; and Nadir Khan became a victim of Amanullah's favourites.

When, on the 28th February, 1919, Amanullah was proclaimed King at Kabul. His father-in-law was at once raised to the dignity of the Minister of Foreign Affairs; Mahmud Sami, the discreetly much-hated Turkish officer, became one of the leading military advisers of the Government; and Sirdar Mohammed Nadir Khan, the former Commander-in-Chief, although released from gaol, was nevertheless without an appointment and very much under a cloud. The members of his family who had served Afghanistan all their lives were not persona-grata with the young ruler; and the new Syrian-cum-Turkish-cum-Court hangers-on were now the favourites of a new régime.

The Court intrigue, the reshuffling of the departments, the discrediting of the former important nobles, the imprisoning of Sirdars Nasrullah Khan, Inayatullah Khan and Mohammed Nadir Khan, the sudden growth of a party of upstarts around Amanullah, and over it all the

spectre of an armed revolt against the new King, served to produce grave potentialities at Kabul. This notwithstanding, Amanullah had made up his mind to rule. The one thing which could vindicate his position in the eyes of his countrymen appeared to him to harp upon the public sentiment. He was already in possession of a large amount of gold, so, given the support of the people in their craving for a political independence, and an increase in the salary of his soldiers, he could conceive nothing to destroy his chances as undisputed monarch of the independent God-gifted Kingdom of Afghanistan. This plan he proceeded to put into execution with the deliberation and skill which the affairs demanded. A timely realisation of what independence meant to the Afghans, may have saved the British the Third Afghan War.

His very first act upon ascending the throne was to issue a Royal Proclamation to his people, the translation of which, owing to its great importance, must be given here in full:—

"In the name of God, most merciful and compassionate.

"O high-minded nation!

"O courageous army!

"This weak creature of the Creator of the Universe, viz., your Amir—Amir Amanullah, gives you joyful tidings that thank God—again thank God—the Government of this great nation of ours and the sacred soil of our beloved country have in a very admirable way remained peaceful and safe from the horrors of such a disturbance as was calculated to make our enemies—near and far—happy and joyful and our friends much concerned. And this by the grace of God.

"Listen, the facts are as follows:—

"You have already been informed by proclamations, *firmans* and notices of the details of what has happened.

"The happy news now is this. The bold and courageous army of our Government at Jalalabad displayed the greatest sense of honour and courage in the discharge of all their obligations. On Thursday the 25th Jamadi-ul-Awal 1337 Hijra (27th February, 1919), all the officers and soldiers who had accompanied His late Majesty, my father, the martyr, assembled on the parade-ground of the cantonment at Jalalabad, swore allegiance to me with the band playing, a salute of guns and great rejoicings. Thereafter, they arrested and imprisoned all persons who were entrusted with the safe-guarding of His late Majesty and who were on special duty in the Royal bedroom at the time of the assassination and demanded their being called to account and punished by my uncle, who, without any religious or worldly right, had acted as usurper and declared himself as Amir. Since no false claimant can establish his illegal claim, my uncle, who had no right voluntarily abdicated the Amirship and recognised me as Amir. The deeds of his allegiance and those of my brothers, Sardars Inayatulla Khan and Hidayat-ulla Khan, and other members of the Royal family have been received by me. Copies of these are herewith sent for your perusal and information.

"O high-minded nation of Afghanistan! Let us offer thousands of thanks and praises most humbly to the imperishable God of the Earth and Heavens with our burning hearts and bleeding eyes that He has saved our sublime Government from the horrors of commotion and confusion and has inspired our Islamic

Government with more strength, power and freedom. Please do not for a moment think that this King of yours expresses his thankfulness for his success in securing the throne. No, I express my thankfulness to God for safe-guarding the peace and prosperity of yourselves, my beloved nation, for saving the Muslims of the great nation of my beloved country Afghanistan at these perilous and hazardous times from various troubles and misfortunes and their painful consequences and for giving us a new lease of life.

"O courageous army of the Government of Afghanistan! I offer thousands of thanks and endless praise to God, the Most Holy—Glory be to Him—that your soul-consuming bullets and your heart-piercing steel spearheads which were kept ready for the protection of the honour of the faith and nation of our country have by the grace of God been prevented from being used for our self-destruction and against each other. Understand it well and carefully realise that this is due to the special favour and mercy of God Almighty and the spiritual blessings of the Prophet which have been showered on our Government and nation. It is the eternal will of the unchangeable Creator—Exalted be His Glory—that all hardship and oppression may be removed from the heads of your nation; and that Afghanistan may be protected from the mischief of enemies of the faith and the country.

"O nation with a nice sense of honour.

"O brave army.

"While my great nation were putting the Crown of the Kingdom on my head, I declared to you with a loud voice that I would accept the Crown and throne only on the condition that you should all co-operate with me

in my thoughts and ideas. These I explained to you at the time and I repeat here a summary thereof:—

"(1) *Firstly* that the Government of Afghanistan should be internally and externally independent and free, that is to say, that all rights of Government that are possessed by other independent Powers of the world should be possessed in their entirety by Afghanistan.

"(2) *Secondly* that you should unite with me with all your force in avenging the unlawful assassination of my late father, the martyr, who was spiritually a father to all of you.

"(3) *Thirdly* that the nation should be free, that is to say, that no individual should be oppressed and subjected to any highhandedness or tyranny by any other individual. Of course obedience to the sacred law of Muhammad and Civil and Military laws is looked upon as a glorious honour for which we, the great nation of Afghanistan, are by disposition and nature well-known.

"I would not accept your Crown except on these conditions. All of you, members of the high-minded strong nation, accepted these conditions with enthusiasm and acclamation, and I also put that great supreme Crown on my head with extreme honour and with determined resolution and purpose thus putting my head under the heavy weight of '*imamat* and *amarat*' (religious leadership and rulership). I hope that you, my faithful, prudent and high-minded nation, will pray to the Creator of the Earth and the Heavens to favour me with strength to be successful in my undertaking and in doing all that may be necessary for your welfare and prosperity; and that you will co-operate with me manfully in the

execution of my thoughts and ideas. O nation! at present I abolish at the outset the system of '*begar*' (impressed labour) in the country. Henceforward no labour will be impressed and not a single individual will be employed by force from among you on making roads, working on public works, tree cutting, etc., and by the grace of God our sublime Government will adopt such measures of reform as may prove serviceable and useful to the country and nation so that the Government and nation of Afghanistan may make a name and gain great renown in the civilised world and take its proper place among the civilised Powers of the world.

"For the rest I pray to God for His favours and mercy and seek His help for the welfare and prosperity of you Muslims and all mankind. From God I seek guidance and the completion of my wishes."

(*Seal of Amir Amanulla.*)

From the above it is evident that he had his fingers on the pulse of his people, in declaring that Afghanistan should be internally and externally independent and free—implying thereby that he would not in future tolerate any interference and control on the part of Great Britain over Afghan foreign affairs, as did his predecessors. He could not have touched a more vital chord in the Afghan heart: for, without an exception, this control of Afghan affairs by England was deeply resented by every Afghan.

I may again repeat that this point contributed very considerably to the deserved unpopularity of the assassinated Amir Habibullah Khan: no Afghan worthy of his proud traditions ought ever to have tolerated it; and thus that appeal of ex-King Amanullah acted like

magic. People flocked to him lovingly. He was a national hero; his was now to command. An increase in the pay of the soldiers did the rest. The tragedy of it is that all this programme, that is the securing of an Afghan independence by peaceful means, was already arranged by Nadir Khan years before the end of the War, but the British diplomats preferred to defer the matter till the requirements of red-tape were completed. And although not agreeing to the Court hangers-on of Amanullah, the Marshal offered and accepted to assist the new king in an unofficial manner in the schemes of national solidarity.

To the Viceroy of India he despatched a letter, informing him of the death of his father and offering to remain friendly, like the late Amir—but with this difference, that he emphasised the fact that Afghanistan was independent. The letter is of all importance in relation to what followed later. It was sent on the 3rd of March 1919, only three days after his accession, and the date of the letter should be remembered. Freely translated it runs:—

After compliments.—"I am desirous of informing my friend, His Excellency the Viceroy of the great and mighty British Government in the Indian Empire, with much despair and regret, of the particulars of a crime full of poignant grief, namely, the crime of the unjust and unlawful assassination of my late father, His Majesty Siraj-ul-Millat-wad-din Amir Habibulla Khan, King of the Government of Afghanistan, who was killed by a pistol shot at 3 a.m. in his royal bed on Thursday, the 18th Jamadi-ul-Awal 1337 Hijra, corresponding to the 20th February 1919, during his stay at a place called Kalla Gosh in his royal dominions, by

the hand of a treacherous perfidious traitor. I have no doubt that Your Excellency, my friend, will be much touched by the news of this painful event, for the observance of all the conditions of neutrality and the upright conduct and friendly relations displayed during the past and present by His Majesty my late father, the martyr, towards my esteemed friend's mighty Government were clearly proved and require no mention.

"I, Your Excellency's friend, had been appointed by order and command of His late Majesty, my assassinated pious father, as his plenipotentiary in the capital of Kabul, and consider myself in every way his heir and successor as Amir and the rightful caller to account and avenger at this time of my father's blood. The people and populace of the capital of Kabul and it surroundings, Saiyads, Ulemas, military and civil classes, traders, artisans, Muhammadan and Hindu subjects of Afghanistan itself, as well as all foreign subjects who were in the capital, unanimously and unitedly, with great enthusiasm and of their own free will and consent, swore allegiance to me, your friend; and putting my trust in God I placed on my head the crown of the Amirship of my Government of Afghanistan in the capital of Kabul amid the loud acclamations of the people and troops. And this by the grace of God. Later on our Government armies in camp at Jalalabad also took their stand on the path of Right, which was wholly on our side, and proved their fidelity and loyalty by deposing and divesting of office my uncle Sardar Nasrulla Khan, who had as usurper declared himself Amir without any right at Jalalabad, and by submitting to me their oaths of allegiance. Thereupon my uncle, Sardar Nasrulla Khan, abdicated the throne of the

kingdom, and my brothers, Sardars Inayatulla Khan and Hayatulla Khan, and other members of the Royal Family, who had sworn allegiance to him, considered that allegiance illegal and submitted their oaths of allegiance to me at Kabul and acknowledged and recognised my succession as Amir and King. Therefore, relying upon the friendship and sympathy that exist and will continue to exist between us, I have considered it necessary to do myself the great honour of informing my friend.

"Nor let this remain unknown to that friend that our independent and free Government of Afghanistan considers itself ready and prepared at every time and season to conclude, with due regard to every consideration for the requirements of friendship and the like, such agreements and treaties with the mighty Government of England as may be useful and serviceable in the way of commercial gains and advantages to our Government and yours.

"For the rest kindly accept considerations of my friendly esteem."

Usual conclusion.

On the receipt of this letter at the Government of India Headquarters, two views are said to have been taken. The one section were of opinion that the letter was couched in a friendly tone, and, avoiding its implications, a suitable reply in the same friendly manner might be sent. The other held that the fact of the Amir having expressly adopted the phraseology of an independent monarch was tantamount to his desire to remove British control from Kabul affairs. The latter interpretation was undoubtedly correct.

Acting on the assumption that an early reply amounted to the recognition of Amanullah as an independent monarch, no reply was sent to the Amir's letter. Not even an acknowledgment was received by Kabul. I have debated this question with such important persons as the late Mr. Edwin Montague (the then Secretary of State for India) and Sir Hamilton Grant (the then Foreign Secretary at Simla), and both were equally regretful of the incalculable harm which the attitude of not replying to Amanullah's perfectly friendly letter did to the future relations of the country: indeed, I am sure that the Third Afghan War would have been avoided if the powers that be had not departed from their traditional courteous attitude. Surely, a reply to even an unimportant letter is one of those commonplace courtesies which one expects from another, let alone the official communication of a friendly and neighbouring ruler, at the back of whom in 1919 stood the entire Afghan nation, because, as I have explained elsewhere, Marshal Nadir Khan, as the spokesman of the people, insisted that Amanullah should thus carry out his duty in acquiring the independence of the country, and had intense pressure not had been exercised in this regard by the Marshal Amanullah's courtiers could have been brow-beaten.

I am assured, too, that Sir Hamilton Grant repeatedly insisted upon a reply being sent; and within a few days of the writing of these words he vouched for the correctness of the view, that in this respect quite an uncalled for slight was placed upon the Afghans. I feel certain, too, from information in my possession, that had Sir Hamilton Grant been at Simla all along, during the period of which I am now speaking,

the Anglo-Afghan friendship would not have been disturbed.

As it is, he was victimised by his people for giving to Afghans what belonged to the Afghans by right, for, when the Treaty of Rawalpindi was signed, and the Afghan independence was acknowledged, the Foreign Secretary of the Government of India was accused of having displayed a weak policy: "but there is only one policy," remarked Sir Hamilton Grant to me when questioned on the point; "there is no weak or strong policy, there is only one policy, and that is the just and right policy". And that policy, I am happy to say, he courageously exhibited at that Conference of Amanullah's Delegation, in spite of bewailing darweshes. But of this Conference, I shall have more to say at a later stage. Here only this much was thought necessary to show what price the Afghans placed on their independence, and spurred on Amanullah as their chief spokesman.

CHAPTER V

Causes and Progress of the Third Afghan War

The time is now opportune to examine the hard facts as they obtained in April 1919, and to refer back to the review whether Amanullah could have averted the Third Anglo-Afghan War: for it is said that he conceived of it as the only remedy to secure his position on the throne by thus placating public opinion. What are the facts?

The heart of Afghanistan was undisputably in his possession, inasmuch as the entire control of the State Treasury was in his command—a matter of considerable significance in Afghanistan. By his raising the salary of his army he had gained their adhesion to such a degree that his soldiers rode to Jalalabad and demanded the surrender of Sirdar Nasrullah Khan and the real heir to the throne (Inayatullah Khan), whom they brought as prisoners to Kabul. The whole apposition, if there were any, in the Eastern Province at Jalalabad was crushed by his single strategy. To the nation he had proclaimed himself an independent political existence: and yet he is alleged "to have been born with the intention of invading India. These are the late Mr. Montague's own words to me in an interview.

Even the official account of the Third Afghan War, compiled by the General Staff Branch at the Army Headquarters of India, speaks of the existence of the so-called War Party, composed, amongst others, of

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A CAMEL CARAVAN WENDING ITS WAY THROUGH THE FAMOUS KHYBER PASS TOWARDS AFGHANISTAN

Amanullah, Nasrullah and Nadir Khan. In the light of actual facts, the inference is strange, because, if ever there was a pact for war between these three, how did it arise that when the actual point of war arose Nasrullah dissented, and Nadir Khan could be brought into it only when appealed to in the name of the nation?

Further proof, too, of Amanullah's pre-arranged ideas in this regard is wanted to substantiate the above statement, because when Amanullah did actually assume power, he did not act in a friendly way towards his two "confederates", but had them brought to the capital as prisoners. Furthermore, if such a war were premeditated, and three such notable persons were actively engaged "for years" in hastening its date, it is justifiable, knowing the great ambition of Amanullah, to suppose that at such conferences Amanullah's candidature as a future King was agreed to. That Nasrullah Khan had himself proclaimed King, and Sirdar Nadir Khan accepted him as such, belies the above contention.

Be that as it may, one thing is certain: that the attitude of the Government of India in not acknowledging his letter for nearly six weeks—and then avoiding the points at issue—gave Amanullah an opportunity (if it were wanted) of disturbing an Anglo-Afghan system of good neighbourliness which had existed for close upon a century. Some of his councillors advised him against the war, others sought to prove that thus alone could he wrestle the independence of his people, since the British delay in replying to the note to them appeared as a sign that England still desired to retain Afghan foreign affairs under her control. The Viceroy's letter, dated the 15th April, which stated that perhaps the commercial requirements of Afghanistan

called for some agreement with the British Government, of course, left no one in doubt about it. From which the evading of the question of Afghan independence was but too thinly veiled.

Matters, however, moved fast at Kabul; for, almost hourly, the colour of the Afghan Court began to change from that of peace to that of war. Some were of opinion that out of gratitude for the valuable services of Amir Habibullah Khan during the War, the British would have agreed to abandon their control of Afghan foreign affairs, if only Amanullah had persisted, and had continued to exchange notes with the Viceroy: others reminded him that it was Lord Curzon who is reported to have said: "Curzon holds what Curzon has," and as the author of that slogan was at the helm of affairs then in London, from that quarter Amanullah should expect little. Such protracted negotiations, too, required much patience and no inconsiderable amount of diplomatic experience, for which Amanullah could not wait. He was pushed to redeem the mandate which the nation had given him.

The easiest way out, therefore, lay in the direction of a determined action of some sort. Propaganda was set in motion amongst the people—propaganda not necessarily of war, but of the fact that Amanullah was the first man who proclaimed the independence of Afghanistan, and which he meant to make into practical reality even by a display of force, if necessary. To prove this, a general mobilising of Afghan troops was ordered, for no one in Afghanistan believes empty words in speeches till the actual manifestation of them is exhibited. This point of Afghan mentality is often misunderstood by foreign observers.

But whereas thus far, it may be regarded as a political exigency, the cardinal omission was to over-emphasise that military display to the extent of a war preparedness. Time and again Amanullah was warned of this by more experienced men in his country, but Court hangers-on would not allow him to have a mind of his own; at other times, his impatience itself would not tolerate listening to the riper advice of the counsellors of his father's time. The result of it was that an extraordinary conflict of ideas arose at the Afghan Court between 28th March and 10th April; everybody seemed to be working at cross purposes.

Meantime, Sipah Salar Selah Mohammed Khan left for Jalalabad to inspect the eastern frontier; a tribal chieftain caused a few coolies at the Indian frontier to be killed, and alleged that he acted on the advice of the Afghans; also some Afghan soldiers, mistaking the frontier post, are said to have exceeded their limits. The Afghan envoy was still at the Court of the Viceroy, whilst the British representative, Hafiz Saifullah Khan, was at Kabul when the Third Anglo-Afghan War broke out on the 6th May, 1919.

Nor is there any doubt of the fact that Amanullah was deceived by the Indians, especially the revolutionary party there, who seem to have convinced the Afghan ruler's greenhorn advisers that the whole of India was ablaze with revolution, which would materially assist the Kabulis. As to in what direction they could help, was not made clear. Withal, the situation in India at the time was decidedly grave. The official British account details it correctly when it says that along the main railway line from Bombay to Peshawar violent outbreaks occurred during the first half of April 1919.

Excited mobs, utterly ignorant of what they were fighting for, but guided by extremist leaders, destroyed railway stations, damaged the permanent way and set fire to property. Between Bombay and Delhi there was serious rioting at Ahmedabad. There were disturbances at Delhi itself. On the two main lines from Delhi to Lahore there were more serious outbreaks at Amritsar and Kasus respectively. At Lahore itself, the mob came into conflict with the armed police, and matters appeared so grave that martial law was proclaimed. Further north, the railway station and mission church at Gujranwala were burned, and the important railway station at Wazirabad was attacked by large bands of rioters. Prompt military measures were taken at each place, and the rioters were cowed by heavy casualties, especially at Amritsar.

The precipitate action of Amanullah in sending all the best trained troops, on the training of which General Sirdar Mohammed Nadir Khan had given many years of active military life, to the Khyber, and the rest towards Kandahar, left the former Commander-in-Chief in command of a very small number of troops, and ill-supplied with ammunition. So the war waged fast and furiously on three fronts, namely, Khyber, Khost and Kandahar. The one at Khost, being the last prepared, was placed under the leadership of Sirdar Nadir Khan, who was now prevailed upon by Amanullah pointing out the danger to the Afghan national cause, and conveniently forgetting that, barely a month ago, he had had him brought in disgrace to Kabul. Yet Mohammed Nadir Khan was a big enough patriot to forgive and forget it all, in the face of a stern duty.

On the morning of the 8th May, the first attack of the war was made at Landi Khana, whereby the Afghan guards had to retire. The British aeroplanes bombed the Afghan territory at Dekka, although the Afghans still held western positions near Khar Ghali. But it was impossible that, with all this trouble around them the frontier tribesmen could sit idle and not take part in the proceedings; for, although the Viceroy reported to London that he had instructed the Chief Commissioner of the North-West Frontier to endeavour to secure the tribesmen's adhesion against the Afghans, and "to spend money without stint to achieve this", the Pathans could no longer sit on the fence. On the 11th May a large *lashkar* at Chura sent an ultimatum to the British authorities, and an anti-British spirit in the villages surrounding Peshawar spread like wildfire.

The next few days were of fierce fighting. The Afghans delivered attacks on the 16th May from west and south-west with little success. There was sniping during the whole night, and the British casualties amounted to 130 men. The Afghans were attacked the next day by the first British Brigade on the western ridge of Dakka. In the morning, the 1st Division was sent to Dakka Headquarters, 3rd Brigade, with one machine-gun company and two battalions, one section 4.5-inch howitzers and one section of 3.7-inch howitzers. The troops of Amanullah engaged on the Dakka front under Sipah Salar Selah Mohammed Khan were: 14 battalions of Infantry, 1 brigade of Pioneers, 1½ regiments of Cavalry and 48 guns; as opposed to the British forces amounting to 22 battalions of Infantry, 1 battalion of Pioneers, 6 regiments of Cavalry and 104 machine-guns, 2 Field Troops, Sappers and Miners, 66 guns and

4 Field Companies, Sappers and Miners. Besides this striking force, a smaller force for the internal security of Rawalpindi, Peshawar and the Khyber area was retained. Not only on account of a superior force at their disposal, but by dint of more ordered organisation, the British completely broke the Khyber section of the Afghan defence, and occupied the Afghan territory of Dekka some thirty miles west of Ali Musjid.

Not only Selah Mohammed Khan's section of the northern command proved disastrous for the Afghan arms; and the cohesion of his units greatly disturbed, but aerial bombing operations were carried on by the British up to Jalalabad and even to Kabul. The Sipah Salar Selah Mohammed Khan was seriously wounded during the operation, and was recalled to the capital.

But whereas adverse fate had fallen upon the Afghan army on the Khyber section, the two southern sections, namely, those of Khost and Kandahar, under Sirdar Mohammed Nadir Shah and Abdul Qudas Khan respectively, were pushing forward into the British territory: notably the former achieved success, tribute for which was paid to him even by his adversaries in war.

As the spectacular success which Sirdar Mohammed Nadir Khan achieved in this campaign virtually saved the Afghans further reverses which would have occasioned grave concern about Afghan independence, it is pertinent here to give a fuller account of his doings in the Khost area. His success was really a turning point in the whole Afghan case, inasmuch as it was his investment of Thal which provided Amanullah with a trump-card at the Rawalpindi Anglo-Afghan negotiations.

I will take the British official account of it, lest the purely Afghan version may appear exaggerated.

On the 23rd May, Nadir Khan left Matun and marched down to the Kaitu River, says the official compilation of the General Staff Branch of Indian Army Headquarters. It was impossible to foretell the direction he would take, but his movement caused excitement among the Wazirs of the Tochi Agency. A column was sent from Dardoni on 24th May to Mohammed Khel, a distance of fourteen and a half miles, to reassure the militia in the posts west of that place and to overawe the local inhabitants who were beginning to give trouble. On the evening of that day, however, it was ascertained that Nadir Khan was directing his march on Spinwam, a militia post on the Kaitu where the road from Thal to Idak crosses that river. It was therefore decided to withdraw the garrison of Spinwam, and also that of Shewa, a post on the Kurram River eight miles north-east of Spinwam, to Idak. To assist the retirement of these detachments, Colonel Ellwood assembled two squadrons of his regiment, the 31st Lancers, at Khajuri, and advanced across the Sheratulla plain on the morning of 25th May. The garrison of Shewa first retired on Spinwam, and then the combined force commenced its march of twenty-one miles on to Idak. Hardly had they left Spinwam than the Afghan regulars took possession of the fort. With them came large numbers of Wazirs who had joined Nadir Khan as soon as the latter had crossed our border. These Wazirs immediately took up the pursuit of the militia, and cut off one Indian officer and fifteen men whom they made prisoners. They were unable to do further damage, and the party arrived at Idak on the evening of the 25th of May.

Whilst these posts were being evacuated, the officer commanding the column at Mohammed Khel had been ordered to bring in the garrisons of Spina Khaisora, Datta Khel and Tut Narai in the Upper Tochi, and to return to Dardoni. These posts were successfully evacuated and the stores in them which could not be carried away were burnt. Boya was handed over to an influential chief of the Daurs, a small tribe who live in the Tochi valley. This individual was either unable or unwilling to hold the fort, and it was looted and burnt by the local tribesmen. The column and the militia garrisons returned to Miran Shah and Dardoni about midnight. About 150 of the militia were found to have deserted during this retrograde movement. By now it was realised that not only were the Tochi Wazirs hostile, but that the Wazirs in the North Waziristan Militia were thoroughly disaffected. It was found necessary to place 200 men of the 1/41st Dogras in Miran Shah fort to cope with the growing spirit of unrest. On 26th May these Wazirs broke into open mutiny, and, headed by Subedar Pat and Jemadar Tarin, they escaped from the fort by digging a hole through the wall to join their fellow tribesmen who were now in arms against the British.

In southern Waziristan, also, the militia posts were evacuated with even more disastrous results. Shahwali, the brother of Nadir Khan, was reported to be contemplating an invasion of the Wana plain from Urgun. It was decided that Wana and the Gomal posts should be evacuated before the events in the Tochi should become known. On the 26th May arrangements were being made to leave Wana, when the Wazirs and Afridis seized the keep and turned on the officers and the men

of the battalion who remained loyal. Major Russell made his way to Fort Sandeman with the remnant of his command after a running fight of over sixty miles with the mutineers and the local Wazirs. During this retirement he lost five officers killed and two wounded. A full account of these and subsequent occurrences in Waziristan are given in *Mahsud Operations*, 1919-20 and will not be dealt with in this book.

Hardly had the militia garrison been withdrawn from Spinwam than Nadir Khan appeared before that post with 3,000 Afghan infantry, two 10-cm. Krupp field howitzers, seven 7.5-cm. Krupp pack guns and a large force of tribesmen. He was now twenty miles distant from Thal, Bannu and Idak on the Tochi. The route over which he had advanced was an unexpected one, as it had been reported as being unfit for the passage of large bodies of troops. It was still uncertain as to the direction he would take, so a column consisting of two companies 2/10th Jats, one squadron 31st Lancers, one section No. 33 Mountain Battery, and one section Trench howitzers from Bannu moved to Kurram Garhi, four miles north-west of Bannu, to guard the defile of the Kurram River. General Eustace, also on the 25th May, sent the 1/151st Sikh Infantry, the 4/39th Garhwalis and one section of No. 23 Mountain Battery followed on the 26th by No. 57 Company, 1st Sappers and Miners, to reinforce Thal.

That fort is situated on a plateau a mile broad, between the Sangroba and Ishkalai Nalas. It is 100 feet above the Kurram River which flows a mile to the west of the fort. Half a mile to the west is the large village of Thal which contains 372 houses and which is inhabited by Bangash Pathans. To the north-west,

beyond the Sangroba Nala, is the bold peak of Khadimakh, which rises 2,3000 feet above the plateau. To the east the ground slopes gently upwards for twenty miles to the watershed between the Kurram and the Miranzai valleys. To the south of the Ishkalai Nala are a series of hills running east and west, which rise in height as they recede from Thal till they culminate in the fantastically shaped peaks of Kafir Kot. To the west of the Kurram is an isolated hill known as Khapianga, 800 feet above the river. The administered territory is here merely a slip five miles broad. The Zaimukht border runs north of Khadimakh, whilst to the south and south-west a line following the course of the Kurram River to within half a mile of Thal village and then trending to the west, marks the limits of the Wazirs. Water was obtained from a well in the Sangroba Nala, 300 yards north-east of the fort, whence it was pumped up for the use of the troops and of the railway.

The Afghan headquarters were established at Yusaf Khel on the Kurram River, three miles north-west of Thal. Their artillery came into action on Khapianga and at "Black Rock", a small conical hill near Yusal Khel. From these places they opened fire on Thal fort at ranges of 3,500 and 5,000 yards respectively, and did much damage to the parapet and to the buildings in the fort. Several shells burst in the barrack used as a hospital. Communication trenches were dug inside the fort to keep down the number of casualities there, Thal village was occupied by parties of Afghan infantry whilst bodies of tribesmen crossed the Kurram and seized the hills overlooking Mohammedzai, 3,500 yards south of the fort, and also the lower spurs of Khadimakh.

On the 28th of May the fire of the 10-cm. howitzers became more accurate and intense. The petrol dump and the *bhoosa* stacks outside the fort and the rations in the railway station yard were set on fire, and the wireless station was hit and put out of action for a time. British artillery were outranged by these howitzers and were unable to reach them. This was the only occasion during the campaign when we were definitely inferior to the Afghans in artillery. An attempt was made to keep down the Afghan bombardment by two machines of the R.A.F. which bombed the enemy gun emplacements. This was effective for the time being, but the relief was temporary. At 10-30 hours, Afghan regulars debouched from Thal village and made a half-hearted attack towards the fort. This was easily repulsed by the combined fire of guns, Lewis guns and rifles, and was not repeated.

On the night of the 28/29th of May, the Frontier Constabulary evacuated the militia post on the right bank of the Sangroba Nala which they were holding, and made off towards Hangu. This was occupied by the enemy, who were thus in a position to threaten the water supply. On the 29th, the garrison began to dig pits, which they lined with tarpaulins for the storage of water. Owing to the burning of the ration dumps, food began to run short, so troops and animals were placed on half rations. During the night of the 29/30th of May, attacks were made on Piquet Mill, the spur to the south of the fort held by the 1/109th Infantry. A section of No. 28 Mountain Battery opened fire on the enemy, one gun using star shell and the other shrapnel. This combined with the rifle fire and the grenades of the piquets quickly drove the enemy back.

British losses were Lieutenant S. C. Scott, and five men wounded.

On the 30th of May the aeroplanes were employed elsewhere and the Afghan artillery kept up a heavy fire all day. By this time they had conveyed a 7.5-cm. gun across the Kurram south of Thal and were firing on our piquets from point 2931. Considerable damage was done to the parapet of the fort and to our gun emplacements. On the following day (31st) both sides were aware of the approach of the relieving column, which reached Thal on the 1st of June, and little activity was shown. Now we must note the Afghan version.

The news of Nadir Khan's invasion, and of his investment of Thal, put an end, for the time being, to the preparations which were being made for an advance on Jalalabad.

The first indication of the fact that Amanullah might disappoint his best supporters in the long run was forthcoming when the Afghan Commander-in-Chief intimated the condition of a truce within ten days of the hostilities: he naturally spoke in the name of Amanullah. For the students of history this incident is important.

Note the utter confusion at Kabul. The three Afghan Commanders, namely, Selah Mohammed Khan, Mohammed Nadir Khan and Abdul Qudas Khan, were facing the British troops from north to south in the order in which they have been named. The new Commander-in-Chief, Selah Mohammed Khan, in his section received a reverse and, within ten days of the outbreak of the war, threw out feelers of peace; the other two Commanders not only were not beaten but had actually captured British positions and were continuing their advance much beyond the Afghan

territory. Does this not show that the Army Council at Kabul, presided over by Amanullah himself, was utterly incapable of handling war tactics? And the tragedy of the situation was that Amanullah did not consider it advisable to take the Afghan commanders into his confidence: for instance, in Firmans, or Royal Letters, which he sent to General Sirdar Mohammed Nadir Khan, almost on the day on which his other Army Commander in the Khyber sought truce, Amanullah made not the slightest mention of it to Mohammed Nadir Khan, but indulged in a sort of friendly complaint regarding Nadir Khan's attitude at Jalalabad on the assassination of his father.

In matters of diplomatic dealing, the same inadequate knowledge, coupled with cunning, was shown by his courtiers at Kabul, for, during this period, all the "old-guards" having been out of favour, the King's advisers were recruited from the most inefficient and good-for-nothing lot: with the consequence, of course, that the Afghans had very tangled dealings with the Viceroy. It calls for a little explanation.

The British Agent was still at Kabul; the Afghan Envoy, one Abdur Rahman Khan, together with the Afghan Postmaster who was still allowed to go in and out of the country into India; the tribal chiefs and priests were thoroughly on the war-path; the King carried on long communications with the Viceroy, and the war was on all the time. Within a very few days of the refusal of the British commandant to cease hostilities, another couple of Afghans arrived at Dakka—now in British hands—ostensibly charged by the King to open negotiations for peace; but their offers were also declined, owing to their not being in possession of proper

credentials. And this was just the crux of the situation, for Amanullah was not capable of grappling with the awkward position of the State, and often resorted to antiquated methods of issuing orders verbally, and expected them to be regarded as binding, even upon foreign nations. There was another angle to it—he was too self-important; and, as often as not, considered it desirable to use intermediaries in negotiations, holding himself aloof, in high and mighty estimation of himself. That, unfortunately, has been the reason of his ultimate fall, and the ruination of his country through him. First of all, he would take nobody's advice, and when after a crash he was compelled to do so, then he would "cull the scraps of wisdom" from those who had none to give.

After the exchange of lengthy correspondence between Amanullah and the Viceroy, the matter at last came to a head, but the latter, in his communication of 3rd June, was adamant on the following points as the conditions of truce:—

1. That you should at once withdraw all your troops from the frontier. No Afghan troops are to be located within 20 miles of the nearest British force.
2. That the British troops should remain where they now are in Afghan territory with freedom to continue such military preparations and precautions as may be deemed necessary. The troops will, however, take no offensive action whatever, so long as the terms of this armistice are observed by your side.
3. British aircraft will not bomb or machine-gun Afghan localities or forces so long as the armistice

is observed, but they will have freedom of movement in the air to reconnoitre and observe positions of Afghan forces in order to ensure against any concentration or collection of Afghan troops or tribesmen in contravention of the armistice; further that you undertake that your people will not fire upon or molest British aircraft and will return without delay, unhurt, British aircraft and airmen who may have been forced to land in Afghan limits, and to use your utmost endeavour to ensure the safety of any British airman who may be forced to land in tribal territory.

4. That you should at once send urgent messages to the tribes both on your own side and on our side of the Durand frontier into whose limits your troops have advanced, or who have been excited by your agents and proclamations, stating that you have asked the Government of India for a cessation of hostilities, and that you will not countenance further aggressive action on their part against the British Government; if they take such action it will be at their own risk, and they will receive no support from you, and find no asylum in Afghanistan, from which they will be ejected if they come.

Within a week Amanullah wrote again more or less in the old strain, with the addition that he accepted the conditions, and appointed a Peace Delegation. The translation of the latter is illuminating:—

"You have," it addresses the Viceroy, "by alluding to events mentioned in previous letters, pointed out our misunderstanding of the temper and power of the

exalted British Government. My kind friend, I consider a repetition of matters previously discussed is only to prolong uselessly a subject which is far from the object in view. I refer to your expressions of certainty and to your eulogy of the unlimited resources of British Government, and to our hinting at the internal power of the sublime Government of Afghanistan, which, notwithstanding its defects of organisation, has repeatedly been a cause of destruction and ruin to foreign power on its sacred soil, and to our alluding to the fact that, firstly, the Islamic Afghan nation really looks upon fighting with non-Muslim nations as a cause of revival of its existence and as a means of its awakening, notwithstanding its terrible damages and the probability of numerous losses and injuries; secondly, that it is in the Muslim nature of Afghans to prefer visible death to subordination to a Foreign Power and to consider it as its perpetual life; and, thirdly, that the spirit of freedom and of natural individuality and national liberty, with its wonderful and surprising world-wide electric and magnetic power of inspiring peace, has caused the withered hearts of the depressed classes of humanity to expand and blossom in every part of the world, and has by an extraordinary force brought into being conferences loving peace and equality, and has nearly brought to its death-agony oppression and domination among different nations.

"We shall, therefore, leave these matters and turn to the real object in view, which is the conclusion of peace and cessation of hostilities between the exalted Governments of Afghanistan and Great Britain. Regarding this you have made certain impossible demands such as the removal of the Afghan troops to a distance of

20 miles from British troops and the free movement in the air of British aeroplanes over Afghan territory without any hindrance by the people, as well as an undertaking by the Afghan Government for the protection of aeroplanes and aircraft in their country. Your overlooking of points so manifest and apparent is a matter for surprise, for the only definition of the military forces of the sublime Afghan Government is that the military and civil forces of Afghanistan are identical. How, then, is it possible to move thousands and thousands of individuals and tribal people from their villages and winter-camping grounds in places opposite British lines? I overlook those matters also which are impossible to accomplish and devote attention to the possible and correct terms of armistice worthy of the dignity of honoured and exalted governments. The essential object of the armistice is the suspension of hostilities by both sides for the discussion and settlement of peace. Nothing more than the cessation of hostilities and peace of mind which is its inevitable result are required. That has already taken place as communicated in my letter dated 27th Shaban, 1337 Hijra, corresponding to 28th May, 1919, to my honourable friend. The best way to secure a discussion of peace with due consideration to the honour of both parties is that the troops of both Governments should remain in their present positions and enjoy mutual respect until the settlement of terms of peace. With regard to aeroplanes it is evident that their movement in the air in our exalted dominions is an illegal violation and interference, for the feelings of our nation who do not have aeroplanes are bitterly excited by seeing your aeroplanes. In every house and with every man are arms, rifles and

ammunition, and it is impossible to restrain people even if we wish to do so. Moreover, it is possible owing to a change in the attitude of friendship between the two Governments an ignorant, mischievous or designing person may fire at them, thus leading to a rupture in the friendship and the postponement of peace between the two exalted Governments, the consequences of which will not be advantageous but injurious to both Governments. In my former letter I mentioned Landi Kotal or Peshawar as the meeting-place of officers of both exalted Governments appointed for the conclusion of peace. Now you have in your present letter, for certain reasons, perhaps, fixed on Rawal Pindi as a suitable place of meeting. We also, in order to secure your pleasure and to safeguard the dignity and honour of the Illustrious British Government, agree with it. We have selected and appointed the following officers for the discussion and argument of the terms of peace and the establishment of friendship between the two exalted Governments. They will, please God, be ready to start for Rawal Pindi on the 28 Ramzan, 1337 Hijra, corresponding to 27th June, 1919. I do not hesitate to mention here that we must not fail to keep in view the advantage of friendship and avoidance of hostilities between the exalted Governments of Afghanistan and Great Britain, particularly at a time when such critical circumstances have arisen in Asia and Europe for our old friend the British Government. Your Excellency will see a signal proof of my good intentions in my receiving your terms of armistice in a reasonable manner. If Your Excellency will overlook the past you will see a bright future for both parties in the establishment of friendly relations between the two exalted

Governments. Its advantageous results will be mentioned by our selected representatives in course of discussion and communication:—

(1) Our exalted and honoured brother, Ali Ahmad Khan, Commissary for Home Affairs, President of Peace Delegates.
(2) Civil General Sardar Muhammad Yunus Khan.
(3) Ghulàm Muhammad Khan, Commissary for Commerce.
(4) Civil Colonel Abdul Aziz Khan, former Envoy of the Sublime Afghan Government at the Court of the Government of India.
(5) Muhammad Rafiq Khan, Amir's Ulmu Abilah, Superintendent of Correspondence.
(6) Doctor Abdul Ghani Khan, Rais-idar-ul-Muwallafin, Chief of the Compilation Department.
(7) Civil Colonel Diwan Niranjan Das, Sardaftar-i-wajuhat, Head of Tax Department.
(8) Abdul Hadi Khan, Chief Clerk.
(9) Civil Colonel Mirza Ghulam Muhammad Khan, Mir Munshi, Foreign Department.

"I hope Your Excellency will appoint the representatives of your Government for the management and settlement of the question by the time of the arrival of the said officers at Rawal Pindi. For the rest, may the days of your honour and prosperity endure for ever. Dated 12 Ramzan, 1337 Hijra, corresponding to 11th June, 1919. (Signed) AMIR AMANULLA."

Previous to writing this letter on the 11th June, he had communicated with his only successful General, Mohammed Nadir Khan, regarding the terms; and had

received positive reply to say that the mere fact of a small aerial bombardment of Kabul by the British aeroplane, and the killing of a few horses in the Iraq by the bombs, should not frighten the Afghan King and his Court into suing for a dishonourable peace: and also the victorious General pointed out to Amanullah the great necessity of placing the entire case before the nation and seeking their judgment regarding all matters of the State. He rightly considered that Mahmood Sami—the Turkish military instructor—and Mahmood Shaghasi, even if they were the favourites of the King. were not the real representatives of the nation. But Amanullah was not the man to brook any interference with his mighty will.

The unfortunate fact was that rather than be frank in his statements, and have his will asserted by sheer force of character, even at the point of the sword, like his grandfather, he always resorted to intrigue and back-sliding tactics. Note the proof of this: On the 11th June he wrote to the Viceroy practically accepting all conditions of a humiliating truce; and on the following day, when the matter was all cut and dry regarding sending an Afghan Peace Mission, he wrote to his General Mohammed Nadir Khan saying that he would not accept any conditions which ran counter to the national honour; and very conveniently put off the including of Nadir Khan in that Delegation: which speaks volumes with regard to the intrigue at his court, when he played one officer against the other, and was a prime mover in the great diplomatic game of political chess at Kabul, in which all the nobles of the former times were discredited and humiliated.

On the 25th July the Afghan delegates arrived at

Rawalpindi, during which time they were not permitted to mix with the people: and despite the fact that the Chief Delegate protested regarding the restraints placed upon their movements, and did not attend the Conference as a protest on the second day, it was pointed out that, although in quest of peace, nevertheless they were technically enemies; and would not be permitted to import any ideas of their ruler into India. From day to day the deliberations took place, and it was understood that Amanullah should be kept informed of all matters both inside and outside the Conference.

To the latter kind of information Amanullah attached considerable importance, for he was always anxious to know how India or those who had their personal axe to grind were responding. True to his mentality he employed the cheap system of information, the purveyors of which were always the bazaar runners—the meanest and the most insignificant persons. In his Farman No. 55 he writes to Mohammed Nadir Khan during the Afghan War that two motor-drivers, one Sikh and the other a Moslem, were brought before him, from whom he received valuable information of the English in India. He informs the General that these two most reliable informers are appointed to convey messages and news to the members of the Afghan Delegation in India.

It requires but very little imagination to estimate the unworthiness of some of the officers of Amanullah, when they preferred him to base his actions on such uneducated and "poor" information as conveyed by men no higher in intelligence than mere motor-drivers: and alas! in the hands of such worthy persons the destiny of a great nation reposed for a time. But this was the

way of the Court then; for they pinned their faiths to the opinions of the baser sort of humanity. The king was, too, somehow afraid of intelligent servants of the State; and not rising to their higher qualities and attainments, always suspected them, whilst his favourites intrigued against them. The best tactics which always succeeded were that all intelligent men, as they were not understood, were stigmatised as spies of a foreign nation—especially that of the British; as we shall have cause to know later in the book. In doing so, another very important cause of the Court hangers-on was served, for by placing this odium of suspicion on intelligent men, the intriguers were safe in their high appointments.

In direct contrast to these unfortunate conditions surrounding Amanullah, and his lack of capacity at organisation, let us note the wondrous system of the British Intelligence Service. Amanullah employed the mere motor-drivers as his news gatherers and informers, but how did the British method work?

Before quoting the incident, it may be explained that the Anglo-Russian rivalry had assumed an unprecedented magnitude during the year 1919. Notably during the Anglo-Afghan War the feelings were very tense. The Bolshevik information and other centres for Central Asia were situated at the time at Tashkend in Turkestan. It was a very closely guarded region: and it can be assumed that any communications that reached Tashkend on their way to Moscow from Afghanistan or India would be subject to utmost secrecy, and the messages handled only by the most reliable agents of Moscow. But it was necessary for the British Government to know all that was passing between

Russia and Afghanistan: and towards this end they left no stone unturned; and they were in possession of the most important communication which Amanullah sent to Lenin, and that, too, within two days of its receipt at the secret Russian office at Tashkend.

The Viceroy telegraphed the following on the 23rd of May to the Secretary of State for India in London, as given on page 18 of the White Paper printed in 1919 for presentation to the British Parliament. It runs:—

"Following report, dated 21st May, has been received:— 'W/T station at Tashkend last night sent to Lenin and Foreign Minister at Moscow, message that two sealed letters, both dated 7th April, addressed to the President of the Russian Republic, had been received from Kabul, one from Amanulla, Amir of Afghanistan, the other signed by Mahmud, Minister for Foreign Affairs. Latter expresses hope that friendly relations with Bolshevism will be established on permanent basis. Amanulla, in his letter, says that hitherto Afghanistan has stood apart from all other nations, but now that Russia has raised the standard of Bolshevism he hastens to declare that she has earned the gratitude of the whole world, and that he seizes the occasion of his accession to the throne of Afghanistan to announce to Republic of Russia that he strongly adheres to the principle of equality among all men and peaceful union of all peoples: he expresses hope that the honoured President of Russian Republic will not refuse his friendly greeting. Tone of letter, which is signed "Your friend Amanulla", is subservient and not of kind to which we are used. Tashkend asks what

replies should be made and says originals will be kept there till direct communication with Moscow is established. In telegram to Eastern Propaganda Department Bravin asks that reminder be sent to Barkatullah of his promise to write a pamphlet on Bolshevism in the Koran, and that the work be hastened on, and 100,000 copies in Persian and Hindustani printed and sent by special courier with all speed.' Yesterday morning, in response to challenge, Afghan showed letters, dated 7th April, which Amanulla had had addressed, but not actually sent, to Japan, Turkey, Persia, France and U.S.A., in which he announces his accession, requests that Government addressed in each case should accept his respects and explains that owing to certain causes, as he says, Afghanistan had not previously been able to have relations with Governments of other great States."

There is no blame attached to Great Britain in having succeeded in securing this secret document. Every wide-awake nation ought to do the same: and this ought to be an eye-opener to every Afghan to note how things of the State ought to be done; and how the cause and interest of their nation should never be trusted to an inefficient person who would employ motor-drivers, and others of that type to be Officers of Intelligence: for, after all, Intelligence is but the ears and eyes of a Government; and only a nincompoop would willingly use spectacles that do not give clear vision. But who was to tell this to Amanullah—Amanullah, the All Wise—who had dethroned all nobles and would not listen to anybody's advice? Machination, he thought, was always the best instrument.

But whilst this was the sad case in Afghanistan, the British were none too happy in their side of the campaign. It is true that they had occupied Dakka, had bombed Jalalabad and frightened Amanullah by dropping bombs in the Arg, but it is to be questioned whether very much more harm could have been done, even if the war were prolonged.

The transport facilities were very bad during the campaign: for three weeks the British troops at Dakka had no rations save bully beef, biscuits, tea and sugar. And when you have to fight under the grilling heat of 110 in the shade in the hottest month of Indian summer, and receive no adequate supply of food, the cheerfulness of the troops cannot be maintained. To crown this misery, cholera broke out amongst the British troops. The first case was reported at Jamrud on the 4th June; it spread like jungle fire. Next day there were thirteen; within a week it reached to ninety-nine. Of course, there was there dearth of water and hospital accommodation. On the Kohat frontier, it was worst, where no less than 337 cases were reported.

In addition it is undeniable that the morale of the British troops was not up to its usual standard; for they fretted to get back to Europe, being war weary, and it is an open secret that what with the lack of transport, and irritation of continuing a war when the Great War was over, the British forces were not especially keen to proceed to Jalalabad. In spite of the "efficient Intelligence Service" (?) of Amanullah, these factors had escaped the knowledge of the Afghan Delegates at Rawalpindi, which stands as a monument of the insufficiency of the skill of statecraft of Amanullah. I mention the name of Amanullah so repeatedly because

the Afghan Government was a one-man show then, the will of the nation counted for naught before the imperious whims of the Amir: and the responsibility can be laid entirely at his door for having started a vicious circle of intrigue, inefficiency and arrogance, which brought the State to such a pass that ultimately the proud Afghan nation had to be dishonoured by the rise of a menial like the water-carrier's son.

After much wrangling, however, peace was signed between Amanullah's representatives and the British at eleven o'clock on the 8th August, 1919, at Rawalpindi: the following articles for the restoration of peace were agreed upon:—

Article 1. From date of signing of this treaty there shall be peace between the British Government on the one part and the Government of Afghanistan on the other.

Article 2. In view of the circumstances which have brought about the present war between the British Government and the Government of Afghanistan the British Government to mark their displeasure withdraw the privilege enjoyed by former Amirs of importing arms, ammunition, or warlike munitions through India to Afghanistan.

Article 3. The arrears of the late Amir's subsidy are furthermore confiscated and no subsidy is granted to the present Amir.

Article 4. At the same time the British Government is desirous of the re-establishment of the old friendship that has so long existed between Afghanistan and Great Britain provided they have guarantees that the Afghan Government are on their part sincerely anxious

to regain the friendship of the British Government. The British Government are prepared, therefore, provided the Afghan Government prove this by their acts and conduct, to receive another Afghan mission after six months for the discussion and amicable settlement of matters of common interest to the two Governments and the re-establishment of the old friendship on a satisfactory basis.

Article 5. The Afghan Government accept the Indo-Afghan frontier accepted by the late Amir. They further agree to the early demarcation by a British commission of the undemarcated portion of the line to the west of the Khyber where the recent Afghan aggression took place and to accept such boundary as the British commission may lay down. The British troops on this side will remain in their present positions until such demarcation has been effected.

After the formal signature of the Instrument Sir Hamilton Grant, the leader of the British Delegation, handed a note to the head of the Afghan Delegation in the following terms:—

"You asked me for some further assurance that the Treaty of Peace now offered by the British Government contains nothing that interferes with the complete liberty of Afghanistan in external or internal matters. My friend, if you will read the Treaty of Peace with care you will see that there is in it no such interference with the liberty of Afghanistan. You have informed me that the Government of Afghanistan is unwilling to renew the arrangement under which the late Amir, Habibulla Khan, agreed to follow the

advice of the Government of Great Britain in matters affecting the external relations of Afghanistan, without reserve. I have therefore refrained from pressing this matter of which the Treaty of Peace contains no mention. By the said Treaty and this letter, therefore, Afghanistan is left officially free and independent in its affairs, both internal and external. Furthermore, all previous treaties have been cancelled by this war."

And although the foregoing is couched in the terms of Amanullah's Government, in effect all the while the advice and active co-operation of the Marshal was sought in these delicate matters of policy; and thus every step which was taken for the resurrection of the Afghan national independence was guided by Sirdar Nadir Khan. Much and all as he was averse to the company of flatterers who surrounded Amanullah, he never shrank from lending his support to the new kin whenever the national cause demanded it. If his name does not appear in the limelight, it is because he always preferred to remain behind the scenes; yet it was no hidden secret to those, who knew, that the man without whom little of real value could be achieved, was no other than Nadir Khan.

CHAPTER VI

The King Rides for a Fall

When, on the 21st October, 1919, the victorious Marshal Nadir Khan returned to the capital, the enthusiastic reception which he received stands out as a luminous tribute to his invaluable services to the cause of his fatherland: for it was now acknowledged alike by friends and foes that but for his masterful thrust Afghanistan could never have achieved its independence. The young king, although still surrounded by upstarts and perhaps slightly suspicious of the growing power of his Commander-in-Chief, had to realise that Sirdar Nadir Khan and not he ruled over the hearts of the Nation, and therefore, for any reconstructive programme the Marshal's advice and guidance were indispensable. So, in pursuing the activities of the first few years of Amanullah's reign which strike us as thoroughly national in the Afghan sense, it should be appreciated that it was the guiding hand of Nadir Khan which had been chiefly operative in the consolidation of the national affairs, emerging as they did from a totally unprecedented political avenue.

Within a month of his return from the scene of battle Nadir Khan was made Minister of War, and here it is interesting to observe that no matter what turns the Afghan political kaleidoscope takes, a man who is sufficiently true to his convictions for the service of

his country cannot be "kept down" by even the greatest machinations of intriguers.

It is particularly true with regard to Nadir Khan, for we see him a Colonel at the beginning of the century; before he is ten years older he is the Commander-in-Chief and indisputably the voice and the power behind the throne of Amanullah's father. Then a sudden turn is taken and we find him on the assassination of Habibullah as virtually a political prisoner at the hands of Amanullah, shorn of all his great influence. Officially his fall is complete.

But as I have remarked above, the fire that consumed him for his country's service could not be smothered by adversity, because as soon as the real test presented itself Amanullah and his hangers-on had to call the assistance of the one man they knew who could drag the nation out from the depths of ignominy, consequently be it borne in mind that actually after his fall he bounced to a higher level—that of War Minister from Commander-in-Chief; if that were not due to his services to his country, what else was it due to? It certainly was not favouritism, because Amanullah loved him not, and Amanullah's courtiers loved him less.

But a man of action as Nadir Khan was, by being exalted to the highest military office under the Afghan crown, was the last man to sit comfortably to desk work in Kabul; so he started on a tour of the provinces to set administrative matters right in the Jalalabad direction. Large gatherings of clansmen were held under his presidency, when matters of unjustifiable taxation and wrong-doings of Amanullah's officers were adjusted. Schools were established and a newspaper was started.

Very useful work was achieved during that winter tour.

Returning to the capital, further overhauling of the official system of the War Office was undertaken. A military review for the benefit of officers and men was started. A national medical school at Aliabad was opened, and it is not without interest to note that it was at this period that authentic maps of Afghanistan for the use of the army were printed and distributed.

Thence the Sirdar was sent to the northern provinces of Badakhshan, not so much to strengthen the military concerns there as to introduce newer systems of the official work of the Civil Service. Here, too, a newspaper was started, and he compiled a valuable book on that part of the country.

It will, therefore, be seen that the War Minister served not only in matters directly under his purview, but practically all affairs demanding skill and experience, and, above all, an honest handling of the task, were deputed to him. But matters had taken a very ugly turn again in 1924, when the Sirdar realised upon returning to the capital that the Court and its President —Amanullah—had mishandled the Government; for during his absence from Kabul all manner of corruption had crept into the administration of even his own department.

The matter came to a head when Amanullah ordered that the pay of the soldiers—which he himself had increased to twenty rupees on his accession to the throne—should be reduced; also that a large number of officers and men should be disbanded. The Minister of War pointed out that such a large reduction in the soldiers' pay would be tantamount to breaking faith with

those who were, after all, the surest bulwark of the nation; and that the Government was committed to that scale of pay. Also that the wholesale reduction of the units would precipitate untold miseries and hardships upon those who had fought for their country's honour and safety. But Amanullah would not listen to reason. He would have his way: the only redeeming feature being the small grant of land to ex-Service soldiers, and even for this the Sirdar had to fight hard.

But when favouritism at the Court grew to excess, and those matters of national defence at the frontiers were meddled with by Amanullah's courtiers, impinging upon the work of years that Nadir Khan's devotion had performed, and threatening to weaken the national defence and imperil the safety of Afghanistan, the cleavage between him and those who were favoured by Amanullah could not be bridged.

Discussing these things one night in a special Cabinet meeting, the Minister for War could not desist from protesting.

"If you think that I am a servant of any particular person of this State," he said, "and owe allegiance to favourites, you are mistaken. My service is for the nation. In the name of Afghanistan I live. In the name of that nation I shall die. But Your Majesty must realise that this Government is responsible to God and man alike to do justice, and to place the interests of the people before our personal ends and self-aggrandisement. If we go on like this with the solemn duties to the nation, we are betraying our trust and do not differ from a common traitor or a thief."

Amanullah did not like the speech: but matters had progressed too far for any notice to be taken of

words of wisdom. Curling the corner of his mouth in disgust, the young monarch turned to a favourite when Nadir Khan had gone: "Our friend still lives in the last century," he remarked; "could someone not tell him that a new age has dawned, and I am its leader? And lead I shall!"

The courtier agreed with every word of his impetuous master, for little else than flattery qualified him for the high Government appointment which he held.

The year 1924 will always be remembered as the year when the writing on the wall appeared before Amanullah: for in that year he launched the first reforms—the first batch of those which later brought about revolution and his fall five years later. He tried them on the Southern Province first. Immediately there was an adverse reaction. There was a revolt. The Minister of War was already out of favour; besides, how could he have fought against those people for whom he worked so assiduously during the reign of Amanullah's father, and who, in recognition of his kindness to them, helped his forces so gallantly during the trouble with the Indian Government? Furthermore, the "reforms" were unjust, and Nadir Khan was not the man to advocate any but the right cause.

The scene of carnage that occurred during the quelling of that revolt are too gruesome to relate: but only when Amanullah recalled his reforms did the revolt subside. Fifty-two men of the Southern Province who were pardoned and headed the delegation of allegiance were treacherously shot, an incident which branded Amanullah throughout his entire kingdom as "a King with no honour". The arrogant ruler erected a pillar entitled "the pillar of knowledge and

ignorance". Yet these and other affairs so thoroughly disgusted Nadir Khan and his relatives that it was impossible for him to continue to co-operate with a Cabinet that rode rough-shod over the cherished sentiments of the nation. The only remedy was that Nadir Khan must resign. This he did, and was appointed as the Afghan Minister in Paris.

Now with the only steadying power, that of their veteran soldier-administrator, Nadir Khan, out of the way, the coterie of self-seeking courtiers surrounded Amanullah the more gleefully. The restraining influence thus removed, both in Kabul and the provinces matters were handled with ruthlessness equalled only in the days of the Dark Ages of Asia, when no man dared call his soul his own: and if I am giving the details once again of the Afghan affairs of the time—details which have been given by me before—it is for the reason that, without their full reproduction, the natural gifts of Nadir Khan and his services to his people could not be assessed at their proper value. It is thus necessary to go over the ground of Amanullah's escapades as well as to reiterate the ebb and flow of the Afghan revolution, during which Nadir Khan played a conspicuous part.

As a start off, the question of maladministration is worthy of particular attention, and the subject may be reduced to a formula: The King's mind was filled with ultra-modern reforms; the people, whilst agreeing to wholesome improvements, hated innovations which cut right across their religions and traditional ideas. Of this the King was in part informed, and when informed, he set it at naught, and was determined to fight it out.

The Ministers of the realm, being inefficient workers themselves who could be so easily replaced by better

workers and certainly more honest men, took good care to malign the good name of all those who might perform the State duties with more wisdom, and in self-defence, so to speak, worked hand in hand at the Court in pursuance of their disgraceful craft of bribe-taking and place-seeking.

The officers appointed by them, either in the Central Government or in the provinces, were naturally chosen from amongst their own kind; and who, let it be noted, had a working arrangement regarding a share in the bribery which they were to take when holding the various appointments. It was then an open secret that a Governor of a province sent regularly so much per cent of his "yearly takings" to a Minister at Kabul. If he delayed sending it, his substitute was on his way from the capital within a week. It is, therefore, on record that some Government officials used to "make" eighteen to twenty lakhs of rupees—between twenty to thirty thousand pounds—during their tenure of office. The case of the Governor of Herat is a notable example.

This system of bribery was, of course, on a sliding scale, with the result that from the Minister down to the office boy, the "Kamai" or "earning" was rife throughout the kingdom. I well remember the case of a Mirza or a petty clerk, who kept putting off the writing of an express order for days for no apparent reason. The client could not understand the delay till a "well-wisher" whispered the reason. He looked at the ink-pot of the scribe: "Your ink has dried up," remarked the client, "may I put some water in the inkpot?" Permission being given, the inkpot was taken out of the room and five silver coins were put into it along with water. When the inkpot thus replenished was

returned, the scribe, dipping his pen in the ink said: "This is a better colour," and the work which had hung fire for days was done within three minutes.

At another time, some purchases were to be made from India. Tenders were called. The work, however, was given not to the one who offered the best terms, but to the Hindu merchant who adorned the official's finger with a diamond ring. But there is even a better illustration of these unspeakable robberies, when police officers kept regular gangs of thieves in their employ. First, the house of a merchant or well-to-do man was burgled, the spoils were, of course, divided amongst the members of the police; and, in the morning, arrests of other wealthy people of the town were made, who were released after bribes had been extorted from them. Sometimes appointments were sold for so much, because they were to "yield" so much yearly.

Add to this the distress imposed on the high and low regarding recruiting for the Afghan army. During the reign of Amir Abdur Rahman Khan, the grandfather of Amanullah, a system of recruitment prevailed called the Qomi System, under which each class was required to give so many young men for the army, according to their numerical strength. During the time of Habibullah Khan the method was changed to what was termed as Hasht Nafari or every eighth man, which meant that every eighth man was called up, and this system remained in force during the first few years of Amanullah's régime, until he ordered that recruitment should be made by ballot, that is, the names of all the men of military age were to be written on small pieces of paper and drawn, like a lottery. Should anyone wish to have himself excused from the service, he was required to

buy himself off by paying 500 rupees. Later this sum was increased to 1,000 and then to 1,500, till men of means and responsibility told Amanullah that the system was un-Islamic and wrong, and even if the sum were increased to ten times as much they would pay it rather than have their sons do menial work in the army.

Presently, it was resolved by the Government that, no matter what the offer of the person whose name had been drawn in "Pishk", or the lottery for military service, he was not to be excused from service, and must report himself to the authorities. The crowning mischief of this system was that no extra care was exercised in this lottery, which soon dwindled down to the most cruel and dishonest practices. For instance, if a man quarrelled with one in the know, the next you heard of it was that the lottery was cast over night, and possibly the only son of that person was the one whose name appeared on the "piece of paper in the hat" so to speak, with the result that the military police were at his door in the morning, demanding that the son of such person should accompany them to the barracks.

Bribery, too, was rife in that direction, and those in charge of "Piskh" department had the habit of retiring fairly early from the service with a good bank balance. The system had incensed the public to an unimaginable degree: and yet no word could reach up to Amanullah, surrounded as he was with so unspeakable a gang.

To Western readers it must be made clear that the reason of this was not that the Afghans desisted from any military training, for the one thing that an Afghan will take to most readily is the craft of war: but, unlike other countries, the idea of aristocracy in Afghanistan is so firmly established that it would be unthinkable

for a Sirdar's son to be a military groom in the same stable as the son of his gardener. Imagine what it would have been if a Scottish Laird's son could be a private in the same billet where the gatekeeper's son was also a private, and both went to their respective homes after their training. Even during the Great War, amongst seemingly cosmopolitan races of Europe, due regard was paid to these social distinctions. How much more was it the case in Afghanistan of hoary traditions!

And the unhappy "Piskh", the Lottery Order, as it was called, was further resented by the fact that the ignorant recruiting officers took delight in deputing the most menial work to the sons of the aristocrats to satisfy their vanity of position.

Nothing indicated this more decisively than an incident during the Afghan revolution, when the people of the Southern Province demanded from the Kabul official the surrender to them not only of rifles and ammunition, but even of the official furniture, including pen and ink—acting on the assumption that as Amanullah was no more, the King's officers were no longer officers. The above-mentioned articles, therefore, were regarded not as the property of the nation, but of an individual, Amanullah. This assumption, however, was not without foundation, for the officers appointed by Amanullah acted as rulers over the people and not as servants of the public, as representatives of the King who ruled and not necessarily served his nation. A contrast is provided by both the action and the public pronouncement of Nadir Khan when he became King, who said: "I am first a servant of the Nation, second a servant of the Nation, and last the servant of the Nation."

Enough has been said to prove that a great and an unworthy experiment, which Amanullah started in 1919, had dwindled down and been disgraced both by him and his ministers within six years of his reign, and, to the shame of the Afghan nation, become the laughing-stock of the world. What with increased taxation, the importance of luxuries, the corruption of the Government, tyranny of the worst type, the encouragement of immodest manners, disregard of religious susceptibilities, and over it all making the service of the country water-tight by styling useful Afghans as pro-British and thus anti-Afghan, all contributed to the crisis, the like of which has never been seen in the turbulent history of my country. Meantime Nadir Khan could do little to reform the most unfortunate Government of a hot-headed ruler.

Nor must it be forgotten that the influence that the priestly class have over the minds of the Afghans is deep and lasting. It is an open secret that Amanullah used to invite the Mullah to his Court only to crack personal jokes at the priest's expense. His antiquated dress, his beard, his shaven head, his enormous turban, his voluminous trousers, his rosary, were all made the objects of ridicule to the public. There are few men who can stand this sort of public foolery, and I do not know of any in Afghanistan who relish that kind of personal joke: the more especially when thousands of Amanullah's own soldiers considered that particular Divine as their spiritual guide, and thousands more who, in the outlying mountain villages, could hear of the Court life only through their priest. Surely no one can imagine that when such a member of the clergy returned to his home and was surrounded

by stalwart Afghans—he praised Amenullah and his retainers.

Thus these somersaults in politics and reforms furnish a unique instance in the world's history, where a monarch, after receiving an excellent chance to make good, and having a real place in the annals of Afghanistan as the winner of Afghan Independence, so completely changed the destiny of his people, and was indirectly the cause of so much bloodshed and misery of a very lovable people. If he could have pondered awhile over what might happen to him through his recklessness, he need not have uttered these words upon leaving Kandahar as an exiled King: "So, this is the end of my ten years' reign; that I leave my country as a rejected monarch . . . but why?" he asked. If his vision had been left clear by the Court hangers-on, perhaps he would have received the explanation of this question years ago whilst still a ruler of a flourishing kingdom at Kabul: but that was not to be.

CHAPTER VII

First Phase of Amanullah's Decline

Having thus set a stage of glorious personal edification for himself and his Court favourites, after Nadir Khan was out of the way, Amanullah felt in 1927 that the time had arrived for him to make his grandeur known to the people of the West, and, perchance, to learn more as to what might be done to hasten further the modernisation programme. Orders were sent far and wide, it is alleged, to the Governors and officers to collect three years' taxes in advance to defray the King's expenses of a European tour. Contributions were also to be asked from wealthy merchants towards that end.

But voluntary contributions apart, Amanullah's officers had considerable difficulty in collecting even one year's dues in advance, for if the people had money it had already been squeezed out of them for various demands for items of modernisation, such as the building of the new capital and much else which, in the eyes of the people, was a sheer waste of public money. The machinery devised by the officers to extort money from the people had, however, become so perfect that a large sum was collected to pay for the King's journey to France and beyond. It is estimated to be a hundred thousand pounds.

Amanullah, accompanied by his favourites, hied forth westwards by way of India. On the British frontier, and wherever he travelled through India to the shores

of Bombay his reception was one of magnificence never before equalled.

The first shock which he gave to the Moslem world was when he and his queen landed on the Egyptian soil dressed in European garb. Queen Suraya's unveiled face, of course, sent a nasty thrill through the Arabic-speaking peoples, who expected to see a real Afghan patriot, a true follower of the Mecca Law. Thence Amanullah and his consort journeyed to Italy, France, England, Russia, Turkey and Persia, and were received with great pomp and show wherever they went, the details of which are too well known in England to require elaborate mention here. Suffice it to add, however, that in every European country Amanullah's one great endeavour was to show that he was the embodiment of ultra Westernisation.

It must also be remembered that when, after three years' service as the Afghan Minister in Paris, Sirdar Nadir Khan found it impossible to continue his work at the Royal Legation, and matters were going from bad to worse at Kabul, which the Sirdar could not set right, it so greatly affected him that he had to resign the Service and go to live a quiet life in South of France till his health improved.

One of the reasons of Amanullah's tour of Europe was to come to see Nadir Khan, and persuade him to return to his Court. But when Amanullah's repeated messengers were unable to convince the Sirdar as to how he could carry on the work of progress—a progress consonant with the true Afghan national traditions—whilst the Court intriguers thwarted all his activities both in and outside Afghanistan, Amanullah's favourites were given a further chance to din in the ears of their

Sovereign the necessity of keeping Nadir Khan out of the country, because he was irreconcilable to the sharp practices of those who always flattered the king's vanity. Amanullah was now thoroughly embittered, and upon his return to the capital the brothers of Nadir Khan also considered it wise to resign from their high offices, and join their brother in Nice where he lay ill, thus leaving a free field to the favourites of the king.

It has often been mentioned that it was the European tour of Amanullah which "turned his head", but facts belie that contention. It may be true that whilst travelling in the West he saw the evidence of material progress and its "manufacture" at a closer range, and hence may have been further convinced that those methods could be grafted successfully into his own country; yet it is beyond dispute that his mind towards that end was, indeed, already made up, as we see in the innovations which he introduced into Afghanistan years before his tour abroad, and on which he insisted before ever he saw Europe. One thing, however, is certain, that as a result of that tour his resolve to quicken the pace of an anti-Afghan modernisation received a decided expression.

In passing it must also be noted that he deputed the work of the State to a Vakil or his principal favourite, one Mohammed Wali. Even then people were doubtful of Amanullah's wisdom regarding his leaving the kingdom at a time when his subjects were not pleased with him: but of course Amanullah was not aware of, or purposely shut his eyes to, the ugly facts which obtained at home. Meantime, the Vakil Mohammed Wali was busy filling his pockets, and incidentally encouraging the brigand chief, Habibullah—Bacha

Saquo—to undermine the authority of the Government. The intensity of sordid behaviour during this period had attained a degree which it is repugnant for the Afghans to recall. Twice did the brigand chief, Bacha Saquo, come within a few miles of Kabul during Amanullah's absence; and twice did Amanullah's representative turn him away, telling him not to believe in Amanullah's word if he valued his life, and advising him not to submit to the Government.

As soon as Amanullah reached Herat in the autumn of 1928, after his travels through Persia, where the Shah had requested him to have Queen Suraya's face veiled, the much-travelled Afghan King was impatient to reach his capital, in order to launch his new schemes with fresh vigour and insistence. Within a few days of his arrival home, a large gathering of favourites was convened at Kabul, and various new reforms after the European fashion were discussed, the most important from his point of view being the inauguration of an era by which "the face of the Afghans" was to be changed, and that at once. In a day or two orders were posted on all public highways that everybody was to wear Darashi or European dress and English hats; and that women should go unveiled. The Queen was unveiled in a public gathering; a batch of girls were paraded out, who were to start immediately to be educated at Constantinople. The police were ordered not to allow anyone in certain parks and on some roads without English clothes.

Most ridiculous incidents were witnessed during that time. Stalwart peasants with the free gait of the highlanders, dressed in their long flowing garb, on approaching the gateway were seen carrying a parcel of clothes

under their arms. As soon as they saw a policeman, up went their arms into the English jackets, English trousers were pulled on over voluminous Afghan trousers, much bashed bowler hats were plunked on their heads at all angles, converting them into awful guys. And all this the people hated from the bottom of their hearts. The news soon spread like jungle fire through the length and breadth of the kingdom as to how Amanullah was enforcing un-Afghan ways upon the people. The priestly class were not slow to pronounce it to be nothing but the sheer work of Satan—for they had an old score to wipe out with Amanullah. Had not their beards been pulled in public, and before the members of their congregation were they not taunted and jeered at? Were not their allowances curtailed or stopped?

The people, too, awaited this chance, for were they not over-taxed? Were they not subjected to all sorts of cruelties? Were bribes not taken by the officers as almost a right? The nobles were not inactive, for had their advice not been disregarded? Had they not been subjected to all sorts of indignities by the courtiers? The army, too, was restless, for had Amanullah not broken his word by not giving them twenty rupees a month, as he promised; let alone the fact that they had not received any pay at all for months together; and were not their uniforms in tattered condition, and did not their officers demand a commission on the soldiers' salaries?

CHAPTER VIII

The Revolution

With what has been related, it can be readily understood that the smouldering embers required only a breath to fan them into flames; and that breath came soon enough. The reaction came from the Eastern Province, from amongst the Shinwari tribes. In an ordinary atmosphere, it could have been smothered with ease and despatch, but matters had reached a state when a trial of strength between the people and the King was to be: and, as in all similar cases in the world's history, the people won.

The incident in itself was small. A party of Koochi tribesmen were passing the Shinwari country. As they had merchandise of considerable value, they had taken the precaution of arming themselves a good deal in self-defence. During their passage through a defile they espied a party of Shinwari tribesmen, also armed to the teeth. The Koochis, mistaking the Shinwaris for brigands, opened fire upon them and killed and wounded many. Soon the news travelled to adjoining Shinwari villages; the Koochis were surrounded, bound, and brought before the local officer of Amanullah. The officer promised to investigate the matter, and imprisoned the Koochis. But something transpired in the night between the officer and the murderers, so that those who had killed the Shinwaris found themselves free men in the morning, and went their way,

after being relieved of ten thousand rupees by the officer.

This so infuriated the people of Shinwar that they forswore vengeance on the dishonest officer, and resolved to take the law into their own hands, for they knew that if they complained to Kabul, then the Central Government there, according to its well-known crookery, would send their application to no one else for inquiry but the person against whom they had registered the complaint. As to the King, he, of course, was quite unapproachable: in any case, he was too busy thinking out new schemes to modernise the people, by having them don European clothes.

THE REVOLUTION GETS GOING

Soon the entire clan of Shinwar was bestirred; thousands gathered in battle array. Many of Amanullah's officers were sent to quieten the disturbance, and all of them were imprisoned by the rebels: till the original offending officer, too, fell into their hands and, after being roughly handled, was imprisoned. The revolt gathered momentum. But at a large *jirgah* or clan gathering of the Shinwari, the point was discussed whether, in view of the fact that the offending officer was sufficiently punished by them, it was worth while to continue the revolt. After some dissenters were silenced, it ws unanimously agreed that, as they had already challenged Amanullah, a reprisal was sure to follow, but, in any case, his Government had so greatly distressed them that it was their duty to evict him from the throne; and all the "infidel ways" which had invaded his Court they considered chiefly due to the

family of the Foreign Minister, Mahmood Tarzi, who, with his daughter Queen Suraya, was responsible for the shameless practice of baring the faces of women and much else which was repugnant to them. As one man they all voted for war against Amanullah. The priests, naturally, were not silent on such occasions.

The disintegrating influences which were at work at the Court now showed to the full how greatly they misunderstood the significance of a national cohesion, for the nefarious practice of encouraging clan against clan was resorted to. Arms and ammunition were at once sent from Kabul to be distributed amongst the Surkh Roodi, Chaparhari, Lughmani and other tribes, who were incited to battle against their neighbours on behalf of Amanullah. The Shinwari deputations were sent far and near to persuade the other tribes to revolt, for now the rebels had attacked the Government armoury at Kahi and had captured a large amount of war material. The deputations of the rebels were received with favour everywhere, because the discontent was general practically in all parts of the country, and no one was pleased with Amanullah's régime.

At last, the entire eastern section of the realm was in open revolt. The caravan route through the Khyber Pass was closed, and the Shinwari attitude so greatly menaced the Central Government that Amanullah despatched emissaries to open peace negotiations with the rebels. Before any useful outlook could be seen, the rebels attacked and captured Jalalabad, the capital of the Eastern Province, and threatened to march to Kabul, unless their demands, comprising twenty-one clauses, were met forthwith, amongst which the most

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AN AFGHAN VILLAGE IN THE FOLDS OF THE AFGHAN MOUNTAINS

important were the expelling of Queen Suraya and her family from Afghanistan, the resignation of Amanullah, the non-acceptance of his heir-apparent, the removal of all of his ministers from their offices, and the alterations of reforms.

THE FIRST ATTACK OF THE BRIGAND CHIEF

Matters were thus drifting from bad to worse in the Eastern Province when a new curse descended upon Kabul. This was in the shape of a man, low born and ignorant—a water-carrier's son, known as Bacha Saquo, who had gathered a large following of brigands in the Afghan highlands of Kohistan. All of a sudden, he, with his three hundred cut-throat followers, began to snipe the capital, and attacked it several times. Practically all the standing army was now engaged against the Shinwaris in Jalalabad area, and Kabul was virtually defenceless. For two or three days Amanullah's capital witnessed scenes which will not be readily forgotten. Every moment the brigand's hordes were expected to reach the battlements of the citadel.

The defence of the city was hurriedly organised, for, as there were no regular troops available, only eighty men could be mustered, consisting of the troopers of the King's bodyguard and the students of the Military Academy. Severe attacks were launched by the brigand, Bacha Saquo, and his men, and with great courage the small band of Royalists repulsed them. Until the evening the desultory fighting continued in the proximity of the city. Then night fell, and the giant town lay at the mercy of the invaders. With sleet and rain and icy winds lashing, the eighty-odd defenders of Kabul

made Amanullah realise what it meant to be friendless, and to have so lost the confidence of his people that defenders could not be summoned even for the capital city. The whole of Kabul that night watched and waited anxiously the arrival of any relieving force, but as all communications, telephonic and telegraphic, were cut between the capital and south-east, the coming of immediate help seemed a forlorn hope.

Whether it was the intensity of cold or uncertainty of knowledge regarding the number of defenders in Kabul, the brigand, very fortunately for both Amanullah and the defenceless people of the city, did not show much activity at night; but vigorous fighting ensued at sunrise. The self-sacrifice of this brave band of eighty men around Kabul against overwhelming odds should be an ever-shining page in the annals of contemporary Afghan history.

After a few hours, the brigand's men attained the adjoining tower of Shahr Ara, and occupied it. Amanullah's big guns now began to bombard it, and after repeated attacks of the Royalists, at last the brigands were dislodged. But they fled from this point only to disperse around the town once again. The city was now properly panic-stricken, the gates of the citadel were closed, arms were distributed to the people of Kabul to defend themselves as well as they could, the merchants busied themselves in removing their goods, and the capital was surrounded by a "curse" which defied Amanullah's might. Even at such an anxious time as this, Amanullah's attitude did not materially change; priest after priest was "put away" as spy or inciter of rebels.

It is very strange, too, that after abdication Amanullah stated that he had never insulted nor caused to be

killed any member of the clergy, till the important Kabul publication entitled "Tardid Shaeyat Batla Shah Makhlo" pointed out his guilt in relation to such distinguished Divines as the late Haji Abdur Razaq Khan, and Molvi Fazal Rabbi, both of whom he had imprisoned; and the execution of Syed Ismail. Also at the Jirgah of 1303, the above-mentioned document asserts that Amanullah publicly showed disrespect towards the wives of the Prophet Mohammed: and many other indignities and cruelties by him are proved by the above-named Kabul publication, which lends additional realism to the narrative of the men who sought to bring about peaceful relationships between the misguided monarch and his people. Amanullah had, however, so definitely offended the susceptibilities of the nation that one and all were working to expel him and to dismantle the orgy of hated Westernisation to which his Government gave birth. Meantime, Kabul was in the throes of a civil war within and without.

At last some Waziri tribesmen came to the rescue of the people. Assisted by the young military students and the remaining troopers of Amanullah's bodyguard, a fair number of men now defended the city against the brigand Bacha Saquo, who had spread his men from Doukhtar Kabul to Bagh Bala, Nouburja and Kotal Khair; and vigorous attacks and defence continued, during which many Royalists were killed, and the brigand chief, Bacha Saquo, was wounded by shrapnel. The surrounding villages of Kabul, too, caught the infection of disloyalty, for a number of the peasants came with their headmen to get rifles and ammunition in order to fight for the King, notably one Ghulam Husain—but, in place of assisting in

repelling the brigands, no sooner had they returned to their homes they started to harass the Government's troops themselves.

Reports were also received that the brigand chief, Bacha Saquo, expected to receive help from his home area, in the uplands of Afghanistan, and that assisted by them a determined effort would be made by him to drive Amanullah out of the kingdom: and although he was unsuccessful in executing his plan of entering Kabul, his threat to the city remained as potent as before.

The Court and the King were now thoroughly nervous. There were the Shinwaris in the East who had already dismantled his authority in Jalalabad area; the Southern Province was with the rebels; the brigands so definitely threatened the capital, and the rest of the country was sulky.

Amanullah was in this predicament when one day the people saw him emerge from the Arg citadel to address a public meeting. At midday in the public park at Kabul he thus addressed the men of the capital:—

"Ever since winning the National Independence for you, my one aim has been to introduce you to the whole world: but these troubles make me feel small in the eyes of foreign nations. Where am I to get men to defend the integrity of the system of the Government? It is essential that order should be maintained in the kingdom. Why do you not come into the field to help in this cause? The arms which have been distributed amongst you are for no other purpose than this."

After that, he complained bitterly against the adverse propaganda against him, which had been started in

the country; he also added that he did not order the veil of the women to be abolished, and concluded by reposing his hope in the army—the army which was already disgruntled, ill-paid, ill-clothed and ill-fed. Many people, however, were not slow to take advantage of the occasion to protest that things had come to this pass on account of the fact that the people's voice could not reach him through the suppressing attitude of his ministers; to which even then Amanullah turned a deaf ear.

The situation was drifting daily from bad to worse. Murders, robbery in the streets of Kabul, the attack from the brigands, the cutting off of all telephonic and wireless communication between the capital and the outside world, the bread riots, the closing of shops had ushered in a dreadful era in Amanullah's head-quarters.

In these dreadful circumstances of insecurity, the foreign residents in Kabul, too, were not a little disturbed. Most of them took refuge within the four walls of their respective Legations; but the British women and children were removed from Afghanistan to India in aeroplanes two days before the Christmas of 1928.

EARLY ESCAPADES OF THE BRIGAND CHIEF

The brigand Bacha Saquo, Habibullah, who ultimately sat on the throne vacated by Amanullah, has a life story rich in sheer lawlessness and marauding, which is to be reviewed here for a better appreciation of his activities as the brigand-king of Kabul.

Of low birth, he belonged to Kohistan or the highlands on the north of Kabul. He once took domestic

service with a Malik Mohsin of Kalkan, where, on being convicted for petty pilfering, he was made to leave the place, after bribing the police of Amanullah. Then, arriving at a different part of the country, he enlisted in the army and fought in the ranks of Amanullah's troops against the Maugals during the first revolution. On the return of the forces after that southern insurrection at Jalalabad, he and his fellows quarrelled with other soldiers, and were imprisoned. From this prison he escaped and went straight to Kabul on his way to his native glens of Kohistan. A few marches north of Kabul, some robbers waylaid him, but he being in possession of a better rifle, and a trained soldier, killed a robber and returned to the capital with the brigand's rifle, expecting reward from the Government. There he was spotted as an escaped prisoner, and orders were issued for his arrest, when, again escaping, he was in his highland village within a few days.

A ne'er-do-well and a desperado like him soon gathered a following of brigands, and started a career of free-booting and cutting the caravan routes. Scores of expeditions were sent to capture him from Kabul, but were of no avail, and it was not till he looted a large sum on the way to Kabul from a northern province of Amanullah that his popularity amongst the brigand type increased a hundredfold, and he was acknowledged as the brigand chief by a band of tough warriors who would shoot to kill and never be sorry for it, because Habibullah or Bacha Saquo, their brigand-chief, ordered so.

The people of the surrounding villages of Kabul, which are close to the highlands where this brigand gang operated, were frankly not interested in taking

steps to check the brigands' escapades, because it meant acting on behalf of Amanullah's Government—a Government of which they were thoroughly tired. But pressure was brought to bear upon Amanullah to do something towards the raids of Habibullah Bacha Saquo, whose power on the northern confines was supreme. The favourite-ridden court of Amanullah displayed the weakness which all such courts have of making overtures to the brigand. As a price of the surrender of his "business" and promise of service to Amanullah, the brigand demanded a military rank, personal protection, a certain emolument, a hundred rifles of 3.3 bore, and two thousand rounds of cartridges to each rifle. These wishes of Habibullah were fully met, and henceforth the brigand-chief became the chief recruiting officer in the highlands for Amanullah. From there he began to send recruits to the capital to be trained and then sent to face the Shinwari rebels in the Eastern Province: but this was for a time only, for the brigand was on the war-path again. Money and ammunition was all that he wanted.

Whilst matters were assuming uglier aspects in the Jalalabad area, and there was a lull in our provinces, like a lull before a storm, a large section of the people of Tagab raised the standard of revolution. Publicly they declared their hatred of Amanullah and all he stood for, and stolidly refused to give any support to his régime, either by paying their land dues, or providing recruits. The fire blazed up anew.

Concurrently with this, large *Jirgahs* or tribal gatherings in the Jalalabad area drafted their eighteen demands to which the people of the southern province of Kandahar also set their seal. Surrounded by hostile forces

on the north, east and south, Amanullah could not but agree to the eighteen demands, which meant not only his recall of all of his reforms, but his support to the more conservative traditions of the country, which ran thus:

(1) None shall utter blasphemy.
(2) An elected Parliament will be formed.
(3) A public prosecutor will be appointed.
(4) The Afghan girls will be recalled from Constantinople.
(5) The teachers of Douband will be allowed to enter Afghanistan.
(6) Bribery will be energetically checked.
(7) Women will not be unveiled, nor cut their hair.
(8) No certificates of teachers will be required.
(9) The military recruitment will be on the tribal basis, that is, Pishk, lottery system, will be abolished.
(10) Wine bibbing will be severely punished.
(11) Religious overseers will be appointed in each province.
(12) The public holiday will be observed not on Thursday but on the Islamic holiday of Friday.
(13) Soldiers will have the right to have spiritual-guides.
(14) European clothes shall not be worn by women.
(15) Students will be allowed to marry.
(16) Girls' schools suspended till the opening of the Parliament; also the women's suffrage movement.
(17) People shall be allowed to take loans without the permission of the Government.

(18) Men will be free to wear whatever dress they choose, so long as it does not outrage the religious susceptibilities.

By acquiescing to these requirements of the Shinwaris and others, it will be noted that certain demands show the unmistakable hand of the Mullahs in them: and certain clauses, in fairness to the case, do really tend to stifle all forward movement: but just this goes to manifest the temper of the people, who wished to drive Amanullah completely out of the field. The King, however, would promise to do anything, and agreed to such a radical reversion of his policy. But whereas Amanullah had conceded to these demands, the people thought that, in effect, his attitude was only a time-saver, and was calculated to deceive them. The nation had lost all confidence in his words, the result being that, despite all the promises to abide by the wishes of the people, the revolutionaries gave no credit to him, and the revolt not only continued unabated, but spread further afield into the Western Province, where in Herat things had been quiet for a time.

When the general revolutionary conflagration eventually seized the Western Province of Herat as well, Amanullah's court was staggered, for the Shinwaris and men of Badakhshan in the east and south, and the brigand water-carrier's son from the north were causing enough alarm without the western section of Herat. This last straw broke the camel's back: and one more effort was decided upon.

It was considered that, notwithstanding the fresh defeat of the Royal troops at Nimla on the high road to Kabul from the Eastern Section, if the greatest

danger which threatened the capital from the north under the water-carrier's son could be averted, the situation might yet be saved. With this end in view, Ahmed Ali Khan was deputed to proceed to the highlands in order to effect the speedy defeat of the brigands. The chief courtiers, still saturated with the aroma of Westernisation, advised the King to pursue the brigand from one side, and, on the other, informed the brigand to be on his guard and not to trust to Amanullah's words and promises. This last effort is so well described in an Afghan official book by Ahmed Ali Khan, who led the Royal troops against Bacha Saquo, the brigand chief, that its translation deserves attention.

In his statement he reiterates that twice the Vakil, or the King's representative at Kabul, received offers of submission from the brigand-chief, and both times Mohammed Wali, the King's Vakil, counselled him to go back to his highlands, and continue his depredations, "for Amanullah's word," said the Vakil, "cannot be relied upon." Throughout this brigand's career of free-booting, the King's most trusted Vakil used to send rifles and ammunition to the chief of that gang; also he presented a valuable rifle to Bacha Saquo, which the brigand used to show to everybody upon becoming the King of Afghanistan.

To crown all this, Sher Jan, a close confederate of the brigand, was appointed the Governor of the brigand's province by the Vakil of Amanullah, which shows the height of treason against the State.

Ahmed Ali Khan, it should not be forgotten, had newly returned to Kabul after his four years' service in Berlin, and naturally was cautious in undertaking an expedition which did not augur well on account of

the hatred which could be perceived against Amanullah amongst the people of the northern province; but yet he hied forth to the brigand's lair.

He convened a big *jirgah*, or tribal gathering. Some two thousand men assembled to hear what he had to say, and for two days and nights he continued his pour-parleys with them. Their elders agreed to provide six thousand men to keep peace in the highlands, and seven hundred men were sent to Kabul as recruits for the Shinwari front to fight for Amanullah. Further, three proposals were made to the Elders: (1) To kill the brigand and his band and to receive one lakh of rupees as reward; or (2) To remove these brigands from amongst the general body of the highland men; or (3) To surrender these men to the Government on their own security. The Elders accepted the third proposal.

Seven hundred men gathered to see the two volumes of the Holy Koran, to which the pardon of the King in favour of the brigand and the brigand's signature to cease his escapades were to be appended. The signature of the King was awaited for three days, for the two Holy Books had been sent to Kabul. At the Court, when the Korans were brought before Amanullah so that he might sign the pardon on the sacred Book of Islam and thus make the undertaking an inviolable one, the same Court favourite, Wali—who helped the brigand secretly—did not allow Amanullah to sign, saying that it was much below a King to have a pact with a mere brigand. Even before the unsigned Korans reached the camp where Ahmed Ali Khan waited with the clansmen, the brigand-chief, Bacha Saquo, came and jeered at Ahmed Ali Khan.

"There were three men in the room," he grinned, "when the Korans were presented to Amanullah for signature. One of these three men has informed me that the King has not signed the Holy Book; and that I am to be careful of thee, oh Ahmed Ali Khan!"

The opportunity of any further *rapprochement* was utterly destroyed; the camp of the Royal troopers was surrounded, and Ahmed Ali Khan with his brother were thankful to escape with their lives. Meantime, the men whom he had sent to Kabul to be enrolled in the defence force against the Shinwari were not given arms at the capital, and returned to their homes only to swell the number of recalcitrants. On the following night the Royal troops on the other section of the highlands were routed; and, although Ahmed Ali Khan could yet have changed defeat into victory by his skilful manœuvring, on reaching Kabul he was relieved of the command. The brigands now were already on the heights of Kabul. The last hour of Amanullah's régime had struck.

On the night previous to abdication, Amanullah sat till late with his brother, Sirdar Inayatullah Khan, discussing their respective plans. He knew Afghanistan did not want him, and he was making preparations accordingly. The tick, tick of the machine-guns, the repeated rifle fire and an occasional booming of guns was heard as the two brothers sat in the palace drawing-room writing and dictating under the light of the candelabra—lit, not by electricity, which had long before been interrupted by the brigand's bullets in the city—and then Amanullah went to dress and pack for a long journey in the small hours of that morning in the middle of January 1929. After a small breakfast, possibly the

last breakfast that he would ever have in Afghanistan, and a brief good-bye, Amanullah leaped into his Rolls-Royce with a few retainers at 9 a.m. and sped fast southward to Kandahar. Few knew of his quiet departure.

Presently, a public notice was circulated summoning the people to the Dilkusha Palace. Hundreds and thousands came to listen to "an important announcement", as the official circular styled it. Sirdar Inayatullah Khan, the elder brother of Amanullah, and the real heir to the throne, appeared on the balcony; the Court Chamberlain bore a paper in his hand. People stood mute, while this, Amanullah's Proclamation of Abdication from the Throne of Afghanistan, was read out aloud to them. Amanullah renounced the kingship in favour of his elder brother, Inayatullah Khan: and till midday did the people come and go to the palace, signifying their allegiance to the new King.

The same afternoon at three, a large delegation of Elders and clergy led by such Holy Sheikhs as Hazrat Mohammed Sadiq Khan started on motor-cars towards the highlands. As soon as they reached the camps of the Royal Army, they informed the soldiers that the matter of revolution had solved itself, because Amanullah had abdicated: and that they were now proceeding towards the opposing forces of the brigand. This news, however, did not produce the desired effect: for, so far as the highland cut-throats under the command of the water-carrier's son were concerned, the matter was not settled.

The whole night fighting continued between the brigand's men and the Royal troopers, till towards the dawn a large body of the highlanders vigorously attacked

the Kabul forces and broke their ranks. The city lay at the mercy of the brigand chief. Presently, the brigand's men had entered the city, and their commander, Syed Husain, was already motoring through the streets of Kabul. The citadel of Irg with the new King Inayatullah and his few retainers was besieged. After a short negotiation, Inayatullah, too, abdicated and, taking a British aeroplane, made for Peshawar in India, leaving a disgraced throne and an empty treasury to the victorious hordes of barbarians, under the brigand chief, who had himself proclaimed King of all the Afghans as Habibullah Ghazi on the 17th January, 1929, by occupying Kabul. And thus ends the last act of this tragic drama.

CHAPTER IX

The Brigand Rules

The drama now shifts from Kabul to Kandahar, where Amanullah arrived on the 17th January in that fateful year of 1929. Immediately on his arrival there, he summoned the Elders, and intimated to them that he had renounced the throne in favour of his elder brother, Inayatullah, whom they should now accept as the King of Afghanistan. The news was received with considerable anxiety, and during the sermon on the following Friday—as is the Afghan custom—the name of no King was mentioned to the faithful.

Meantime, as has been stated, Inayatullah had also abdicated, and sent a telegram to his brother in Kandahar saying what he had done, and informing him that, via Peshawar, he was on his way to Kandahar.

When Inayatullah reached Kandahar, and the people saw with their own eyes the fate of two dethroned Afghan monarchs, their thoughts drifted to the ugly possibility of seeing Bacha Saquo's forces at the gates of Kandahar. Amanullah once again took the lead and re-proclaimed himself King, determined to oust the water-carrier's son from the capital. As a further inducement to the Kandaharis he rescinded all his hated reforms, and began to make every effort to placate the clergy of southern Afghanistan.

Large tribal gatherings took place now to discuss the next step in a programme whereby Amanullah could

again reach Kabul. There were many factions at these conferences, and all were not entirely with Amanullah, for they still doubted his good faith. What lay underneath was at last discovered, when an important delegate rose and denounced Amanullah to his face in the public gathering: and tauntingly remarked that he should seek support from those whom he had cherished, and who had turned out to be traitors, both to him and to the country. This outburst could not deceive anybody: and Amanullah, feeling that perhaps his cause would not be served well by the people of Kandahar, resolved to try his luck by proceeding northward, and attacking the brigand-King from the Herat and Mazar Sharief side.

Disloyal to him, or, at least, lukewarm supporters of his though the Kandaharis may have been, yet this decision of Amanullah made the warriors in the Kandaharis feel slighted, and they asked him to tarry his steps northward for ten days, in order that they might have time to gather forces of their clansmen, after which an advance would be made towards Ghazni, on the high road to Kabul.

Much within that period, not only the tribesmen of the South rallied under Amanullah's banner, but also a large body of Hazara fighting men joined the King's forces. But large though this force was, the morale of the men was broken. They fought but half-heartedly, for they could not get the element of doubt from their minds that Amanullah would again install unpopular reforms; and that his pronouncement at Kandahar was merely a time server. Nor were there any proper arrangements for a commissariat, with fresh supply of arms and ammunition.

The great misfortune with which Amanullah's men had to contend was that on both sides of his road to Ghazni, the tribes being against him, harassed the royal troops: also as the advancing army must buy its rations on the way, the hostile villages would either not sell the stuff, or more often than not murder Amanullah's troopers. Amanullah, however, continued his march from Bagh to Shahr Safa, to Jakdil and thence to Sir Asp.

Here his commander sent the disquieting news that the tribes around Aghu Jan, numbering some 800 men, were making the progress of the Royal troops impossible: but the way was forced and Amanullah reached Muqar about the middle of April 1929, where a halt was called. The Court influence of old made its appearance even at this critical juncture, when complaints were launched by the tribal elders that, in spite of their being the supporters of Amanullah, even in the face of the antagonism of their kinsmen, the Court hangers-on did not permit them to approach Amanullah direct. One, Abdul Yaqub Khan, the Court Chamberlain, it was alleged, was the chief offender in this regard.

Meantime, Abdul Ahad Khan, leading Amanullah's advance guard, reached the gates of Ghazni; but the people showed hostility and in place of opening the gates opened fire on Amanullah's men. Another two weeks of fruitless adventure on the part of the Royal troops ensued: and the Court of the distracted monarch decided to disband the tribal levees, and rely only on the regular troops. As soon as the tribesmen were disarmed, and were being sent back to their homes, dissatisfaction broke out afresh in the rear of the Royal troops. What could be said of Amanullah's

capture of Ghazni in the north, now his retreat to the south at Kandahar was menaced? The collapse was final; and on reaching back at Maqr when Amanullah was informed that the tribes had gathered in large numbers, and were being assisted by a strong force of the water-carrier's son from Kabul, Amanullah broke down completely on the 14th May; and gave orders for a general retreat to Kandahar.

He himself betook himself Kandahar-ward, ahead of his defeated army: and on the way the hardships of the soldiers, what with the sniping of hostile clansmen, and what with the shortage of rations, can be better imagined than described. As he neared Robat Mahmand the unfortunate monarch issued his last abdication writ. He sent words that he was striking for Chaman, in the British territory, and that his wife and relations were to join him on the way. At 2 a.m. in the dead of the night Amanullah's motor sped past the last frontier post of his kingdom. As he was leaving Afghanistan, "This is the end of my ten years' reign," he said, "that I now leave my country as a rejected monarch. . . . But why?" he asked. Any man with the least imagination, and viewing the turmoil in which he was leaving Afghanistan, need not have asked this question. But Amanullah could not understand, could not see the view-point of his people: and indeed, woe betide a king who cannot see the view-point of his nation!

On the 24th of May, 1929, both the dethroned Kings of Afghanistan—Amanullah and Inayatullah—were in the Taj Mahal Hotel at Bombay with their queens, waiting till Queen Suraya was better before leaving the Indian shores for Rome and Tehran: with which let the curtain ring down on the greatest tragedy that has

ever been visited upon the God-Gifted Kingdom of Kabul.

Let us cast a glance backwards in relation to other personalities of this curious stage, and observe the conditions of the eastern province of Jalalabad. Ali Ahmed Jan, who had proclaimed himself the Amir at Jalalabad, had to flee to Peshawar on the 9th of February. The tribesmen, it is said, were not enamoured by his licentiousness in matters of personal behaviour; and as soon as he left the eastern section, the Shinwaris capturing Jalalabad sacked it. His arrival at Kadahar created some surprise on the 30th March, 1929, more especially as Amanullah was now leading his men against the people of Ghazni. This third deposed ruler remained at Kandahar till the flight of Amanullah from Kandahar, and thus finding the throne empty, took the opportunity of again having himself proclaimed Amir, only to fall captive in the hands of the brigand-King's men on the surrender of Kandahar on the 31st of May, and to forfeit his life in the middle of July at Kabul. Having outlined the adventures of this remarkable personage to his sad end, we must now turn to the Court of Bacha Saquo, the brigand-King of Kabul.

THE BRIGAND-KING IN THE SADDLE

The very first act of the water-carrier's son upon mounting the throne of Kabul on the 17th of January 1929, was to assume a royal title of Habibullah Ghazi—meaning: The Beloved of Allah, the Knight of the Faith. His name was mentioned at the Friday sermons at the capital more on account of the dread of his

soldiers' bayonets than by any degree of affection which the priests had for him. Coins were struck in his name; he ordered all the departments of the State to be opened except that of Education. His mountain warriors had an orgy of feasting and rejoicing at the capital for days on end. Uncouth brigands of the glen lolled about in their muddy boots upon the sumptuous sofas of Amanullah's palace. The clownish court of the illiterate and low-born bandit presented a ludicrous spectacle. Expensive rugs of the household were thrown over the pack animals at night, not always on account of vindictiveness, but due to the ignorance of their use and value by the ruffians of the highlands. They washed their muddy boots in the hand-basins, and used to hang their cartridge belts on the exquisite candelabra. Every soldier was a walking arsenal; with cartridges in the belts worn cross-wise, others sewn even on their sleeves. They bore all sorts of savage weapons.

The next move was to have all the near relatives of Sirdar Mohammed Nadir Khan—sixty-one men, women and infants—imprisoned in the citadel: and indeed, what a prison! It was worse than any medieval prison of the worst type. Delicate and ill-looking princes, who had been waited upon all their lives by many servants, were ruthlessly flung into the dungeon: their babies cried for milk, and received a growl from the savage guard. But these prisoners bore the hardships in such a manner that every Afghan should be proud of them.

The chief favourites of Amanullah's court, who had led Amanullah astray, and who had deserted him on his abdication, now became the brigand-King's chief advisers. The Vakil openly helped the new Government,

and the Turkish military instructor, Mahmood Sami, went so far as to train recruits at Kabul to send them to fight against the forces of Amanullah—his former master. One day when he visited the mint with the brigand-King, he spat upon Amanullah's coins, and kissed the new coins struck in the name of his new master. It was only natural that both he and his colleague should be tried by the national judges on H.M. Mohammed Nadir Shah becoming King, when the former was condemned to death, and the latter imprisoned for eight years on being found guilty of high treason.

The brigand's rule was hardly a month old when appalling atrocities were started at the capital by his highlander ruffians. Money was extorted from all and sundry, houses were searched ostensibly to recover arms, but really to discover buried gold and silver. The new king knew that if he were to remain on the throne, then he must continue to pay his robber followers five times as much as before. No one would pay land tax, or toll, for everywhere the fire of revolution still blazed high. At last he devised a comprehensive scheme of wholesale extortion, selecting men of his type, and distributing them throughout the country around Kabul. In each district they were to prepare a careful report of the wealth of citizens, who were compelled at the peril of their life's blood to produce every penny that they possessed. Every well-to-do Afghan was bled white, so far as any cash was concerned. Paper money was printed, but no one would accept it. Maddened by the demand for money, the brigand resorted to more diabolical methods of torturing people and extorted every sou that they had or could borrow. The distress was unimaginable, people's noses and ears were cut if

they did not produce money. The news of Kabul's reign of terror soon spread in the neighbourhood, and the brigand began to feel his seat on the throne very insecure; and now the tribes in the east and the south took a decided attitude to rid Afghanistan of the curse of the brigand-born who sat on the throne at Kabul.

On this clouded horizon there was only one ray of hope, that being the arrival of General Sirdar Mohammed Nadir Shah with his brothers, to rescue his people from the ravages of civil war and the demon force which presided at the capital of the Afghans.

CHAPTER X

Rescue from the Demon

When I think of modern Kabul, I think of a day on the French Riviera. On the verandah of a villa there sits a man of fifty or more. From his ashen face, the number of medicine bottles on the table at his elbow, his physical exhaustion is clear.

His devoted friends and younger brothers are attending to his wants more assiduously than before; for on that particular day of which I speak the doctor had pronounced the condition of the patient to be grave.

That man was Ala Hazrat Mohammed Nadir Shah Ghazi—the martyred King of the Afghans, whose ruling house was replaced by that of Amanullah many years before my time.

Presently the sick man's brother handed him the day's paper. It read that Amanullah had left his country to the ravages of a bandit, Bacha Saquo. From one end of the country to the other, the God-Gifted Kingdom of Kabul was in the throes of a fierce revolution.

All the princesses of the kingdom, having been thrown into the dungeons, were being tortured. The Royal children were being refused even milk, caravans were being looted, people were being shot for not giving up their last penny to the bandit-king.

Nadir trembled with emotion. Doctor's orders, he thought, were not more important than the cry of his nation in distress. His place was in his country. Even

that day he would start; he actually staggered to the boat which took him to the Indian shores.

Imagine if you can, from an onlooker's point of view, the helpless position of Sirdar Mohammed Nadir Khan, standing alone, penniless with no backing from anybody, watching the blaze of revolution rise higher and higher beyond the Khyber Pass, and yet never losing hope in his ultimate triumph to save his people. It was on the 6th March, 1929. And he had prodigious difficulties to surmount.

One of the greatest difficulties was finance. The Marshal and his brothers, even in the earlier days of prosperity, were by no means affluent, says Mohammed Ali. All the members of their family, throughout their careers, had held high and responsible posts, but they had the expenses of a large family to defray, and what they could spare was spent in acts of charity and benevolence of a national character. The Marshal when he was Commander-in-Chief had founded the National School—*Maktab-i-Milli*—and nearly half of his pay and more than half of the income from his estate went to meet its expenses, by no means a small drain on his meagre income. No member of this family had ever attempted to amass wealth by the usual unfair means. When they entered the Southern Province they were penniless and could not even feed those who had hastened to flock round them. And unfortunately they had stepped into the poorest province of the country. In Kabul, Herat, Kandahar, or any other important town, they would have had no difficulty in obtaining money. But they were far away from these trade centres; and in place of money had to put to the best use they could the influence and the prestige won in the days

when they had worked there as officers. Without any means of transport, with no commissariat and insufficient arms and ammunition, they gallantly stepped into the arena and trusted to the honesty of their aims.

But the enemy was in possession of the capital and the public treasury. The whole of Koh Daman Highlands in the north—that land of fine and dauntless soldiers—was at his back. The wealthiest parts of the country and the best magazines were in his power. He also had in his iron grasp the richest people in the land, from whom he could squeeze out their last farthing. Holding out the promise of loot he had easily succeeded in maintaining a large standing army, well disciplined and well organised, whose number at the time exceeded fifty thousand. The major portion of this formidable army, with the best officers to command them, was stationed in the strong military posts facing the Southern Province. Only two thousand men sufficed for the Kandahar front; a few thousand rupees had frustrated the plans of Wali Ali Ahmad Jan, and with only a handful of men Bacha's agents, Mohammed Qasim and Abdur Rahim Khan, had marched straight up to Mizar-i-Sharif without meeting the slightest resistance.

But the southern problem was a nightmare to the Bacha and his counsellors, for they knew the general popularity of the Marshal and his brothers. They also knew fully the warlike character of the southern tribes. But the brigand with his vast resources felt hopeful of ultimately bringing the Southern Province under his sway.

The best soldiers and most experienced officers—the pick of Bacha's army—were despatched to the south.

Mohammed Siddiq, Sher Jan's brother, a general of no ordinary capacity, was appointed commander of these regiments. He succeeded in buying over some of the local tribes, who greatly multiplied the Marshal's difficulties by opposing his advance at every step. Among these tribes the Dari Khel afford a conspicuous example. Sirdar Nadir Khan, while proceeding to Gardez, had to pass through their hostile territory. The narrow valleys, the rugged mountains and the desperate opposition of the treacherous people, made his progress through their country of utmost difficulty, and it was only after great hardships and timely use of his diplomatic skill, that he ultimately was able to cross that portion and proceed to Gardez.

An equally great obstacle which he had to surmount was regarding his aim. By virulent propaganda the brigand was trying to keep the tribes away from Marshal Nadir Khan. The only plausible charge that Saquo could find against him was the fact that he had been Amanullah's Commander-in-Chief, and could thus be supposed to be working in the ex-King's interest, to re-establish him on the throne. At every step the Marshal had to make it clear to the people that his sole aim was to rescue his country from the cruel grip of the ignorant miscreant, and that he himself belonged to no party. Time and again he had to emphasise that if he succeeded in driving out the Bacha, he would leave the election of the king to the nation itself to be discussed in a Grand Assembly, in which representatives from all parts of the country should take part.

He had no desire to become a dictator, or to force a hated king upon them. Then the people would insist that if he was not fighting for the ex-King he

should himself make a bid for the throne. This, too, the Marshal was not willing to do.

He openly declared that he had no desire to become king, and that if the question of kingship was settled except by the Grand Assembly, there was no chance of a permanent peace in the country. It was no easy talk to convince the people of his high ideals. The tribes still believed that the Marshal was fighting for Amanullah Khan, and so bitter was the feeling against the ex-King that some of them, preferring even Bacha's rule, began to oppose the Marshal. In spite of his repeated declarations and pamphlets explaining his object and his attitude towards this question, some of the powerful tribes, such as the Sulaiman Khel and Dari Khel, sided with the Bacha.

Then there was another barrier to a unified attack on the brigand's forces. It consisted of the tribal jealousies amongst the clans themselves. Some of these had longstanding animosities among themselves, and were always on the look-out for a chance to avenge their grievances. To settle their differences presented great difficulties, because no side would give way; each would insist on deciding the question by use of arms: thus at every step there was danger of a civil war. It required no little sagacity and diplomatic handling to keep this heterogeneous mass together.

In spite of all these disadvantages and hindrances, the Marshal and his brothers decided to carry on and to fight to the last, either to win or to lay down their lives in the attempt. They knew they were fighting for the national cause. For them it was a war between right and wrong, where the goal on one side was peace, progress and prosperity, and on the other side cruelty,

oppression and tyranny. And in their faith they found strength, and hope inspired their actions and proved to be their greatest equipment.

As soon as he arrived in Khost, Marshal Mohammed Nadir Khan sent letters to the tribal chiefs informing them that he had come to work with them in turning out the brigand, and to do his best in restoring peace and order, and thus saving Afghanistan from ruin and destruction. He asked them to assemble in an appointed place and hold a meeting where these problems and the future line of action should be discussed.

On the 13th March—the first day of *Id*—all the tribes went to the golf links to say their prayers. After the prayer, the Marshal got up and made a very moving speech, indicating that that *Id* was the most unlucky day for the nation; a day of lamentation rather than of festivities. He exhorted upon them the necessity of laying aside their tribal jealousies, so that they might be able to remove the brigand whose very name was a disgrace to the nation, and had already lowered the prestige of the country in the estimation of the world. Such was the effect of this speech on the audience that there was general lamentation in Khost, and the happy day of *Id* actually became a day of mourning.

In Khost not a single day passed without seeing a large number of the tribal men answering the call of help. On the second day of *Id* a batch of 1,000 men made its appearance. The Marshal with his brothers went out to meet them. The number daily increased and everyone began to hope that this tribal *lashkar* would soon be able to extirpate the disgraceful régime. But unfortunately the many difficulties, some of which

have already been discussed, made immediate action impossible.

It was at this time that the news reached the Marshal that there was imminent danger of a serious fight between the Wazir refugees and the southern tribes. These Waziris, whose homes were in Waziristan, had left their territory and taken refuge in the Southern Province during the reigns of Amir Habibullah Khan and King Amanullah Khan. They had been given some lands in the Khost district, but the southern tribes did not like them to own their soil, and waited for an opportunity to drive them out.

Now when the chance came, they surrounded these Wazir refugees and asked them to leave their lands or be prepared for war. The Waziris were not willing to give up their rights and the danger of a civil war was imminent. Upon the Marshal being informed, he despatched a few of the influential chiefs to settle the matter amicably. This mission at last prevailed upon the Waziris to give up their rights and the contending parties took a solemn oath that thenceforth they would co-operate with each other and would relinquish their tribal jealousies.

There was a general rejoicing on all sides over this sagacious move of the Sirdar, for everyone was fully aware of the ugly turn that the affair might have taken. If a single bullet had been fired from either side, the matter would have been beyond control and the Waziris of the Trans-border would have felt obliged to assist their brethren.

On the 21st of March, Mir Ghaus-ud-Din Khan, son of Jahandad Khan, the well-known Khan of Ahmadzais, with some other tribal chiefs and six

hundred men reached Khost. The Marshal, according to the Afghan custom, went out to meet them. The Molvi from whose account this is culled has done full justice to the accuracy of the matter.

On the 22nd March a *jirgah* was held in which all elders and tribal chiefs took part. The Marshal opened the proceedings. He briefly described the revolution and the object of his arrival in Afghanistan. Then he threw open to them for discussion his suggestions for action and for coping with the difficulties. After much discussion the tribes unanimously proposed as follows:—

"Realizing the dangerous aspect of our country and with a view of relieving the nation from this catastrophe, we all propose that you should be our leader. We demand that before leaving this place you should accept our allegiance and give us full assurance that in case of success none but yourself would be our king. Specially we ask you to promise that you will have no connection whatsoever with Amanullah Khan, who, as we have come to know, is now in Kandahar, and is making preparations for an attack on Kabul, for we have lost all faith and trust in him, and any connection with him is regarded by us as a great offence."

But the Marshal would not accept kingship.

"My aim," he declared, "is not to take the throne, but I desire to settle the dispute that has arisen regarding the kingship. I advise you and those who are not present here, that you should not pay allegiance to anyone who has not been universally elected by the

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people, otherwise civil war and disunion will never end. My sole object is the removal of these differences and the establishment, with your help and approval, of a Government on a firm and sound basis."

The refusal to accept the throne was not received without a murmur of disappointment. But the Marshal was at last able to convince them and make them accept his view-point, and it was unanimously agreed that they should proceed to Gardez and there invite the chiefs of all the tribes to a general assembly to discuss these problems.

Within a fortnight of his arrival, the Marshal had easily succeeded in having round him a large *lashkar* consisting of various tribes, who in view of the national catastrophe were bent upon fighting to the bitter end. But their old jealousies and rivalries would still create difficulties: therefore the first problem to be solved after the close of this *jirgah* was how to distribute arms among these tribes, because every one of them insisted upon having the lion's share. Moreover, the behaviour of a few clearly indicated that they had something up their sleeve and were probably bribed by Mohammed Siddiq to delay the departure of this *lashkar*.

But the personal influence of the Marshal once more prevailed and the arms were distributed in such a way that all parties were satisfied with it. The next problem was the line of action—how to proceed and by what route. Nobody doubted that the *lashkar* would reach Gardez without difficulty, but the Marshal knew that some of the tribes *en route* would try to put obstacles in his way, so he proposed to take a route whereby he could avoid their territory. Finally it was decided that

the Marshal himself with the Jadrani *Lashkar* should proceed via Jadran, Sirdar Shan Wali Khan at the head of Manglis via Mangal, and Shah Mahmud Khan, who had recently returned, should advance via Jaji.

Next day, when all was ready for departure, news arrived that a *lashkar* of some six thousand Mangals was coming to their help. The Marshal, as usual, went out to receive them. As soon as he appeared on the scene, the Mangals, overjoyed at seeing him, fired a volley in the air in his honour. The Marshal, in spite of a heavy rain-storm, went to meet their leaders, and addressed them for twenty minutes, explaining his intentions and his plan of action.

After he had finished his speech, a man from among the newcomers stepped forward, and having expressed the heartiest welcome to the Marshal and his brothers, he narrated the causes that had brought about the revolution and the national catastrophe, emphasizing that all was due to the maladministration, luxury and negligence of the ruler and his immoral and irreligious steps towards the so-called reforms. He therefore requested that the Marshal should give them a solemn assurance that he would in no way side with or work for him. Once more the Marshal was obliged to reiterate his views. As for the throne, he repeated that whosoever occupied it should be duly elected by the representatives of the nation, who should meet for this purpose in a Grand Assembly. In the end he told them that according to the decision of the last *jirgah*, he was proceeding to Gardez, in order to hold a general *jirgah* there, and that he would abide by the decision of that assembly, and carry out its behests to the best of his ability. A few hours later, the Sabari *Lashkar* also came to their help.

At half-past four everyone was alarmed at the sound of rapid firing on all sides. The Ahmadzais who were inside the camp took the usual precautionary measures of defence. A few men were sent to find out the cause of the disturbance and discovered that the Mangals and Sabari tribes who had long-standing enmity were now bent upon settling their grievances. But the Marshal was again successful in pacifying them. Soon after this another dispute arose between the two Jadran clans, but the matter was again settled without recourse to arms; which shows how extraordinarily difficult the situation was, when Sirdar Nadir Khan had not only to make preparations for attacking the powerful brigand king at Kabul, but to keep peace between his own adherents who had old scores to wipe out.

The Marshal at the head of his *lashkar* left Khost for Gardez on the 27th March, but this distance of only fifty miles took him more than a fortnight—seventeen days, to be exact—because he had to pass through the country of some hostile tribes, who would not let him cross their territory, offering as a plea for their hostility the fear that the Marshal was working on behalf of the ex-King. It therefore became necessary for the Marshal at every step to enter into explanations in order to allay fears and doubts.

The first day's march lay through the lands of the Dari Khels, who were not slow in showing their animosity and offered stubborn resistance. It was proved beyond all doubt that this tribe was instigated by Mohammed Siddiq and that a passage through their valleys could not be effected without danger. The Marshal was thus obliged to call a halt and encamp in

the strong fort of Babrak Khan. A few elders were sent to the tribal chiefs to explain to them the aims and objects of the Marshal and his *lashkar*. But the Dari Khels were obstinate and refused passage. They were under the influence of a dervish, Levannai by name, who was in the Bacha's pay, and such was his hold over the tribes that none dared oppose him.

During this time the Marshal was busy day and night in publishing pamphlets explaining his objects and asking the tribes to co-operate and join hands against their common enemy, and thus save their country from utter annihilation.

The negotiation with the Dari Khels continued for full three days. The only argument they offered for their opposition to the Marshal was that he was a partisan of the ex-King and was working on his behalf. When it was found that these people would not listen to reason and could not be prevailed upon to accept even the assurances of a *jirgah*, the Marshal was obliged to use force, much against his will. After a few hours of hot and contested fighting, the Dari Khels were beaten and the Marshal was able to proceed towards Gardez.

Nothing of any importance occurred for the next few days. The *lashkar* found no difficulty in reaching Chankhawah via Orgoon and Zirak. At Chankhawah the Marshal was informed that all the tribes of Zurmat and Sari Roza had held a *jirgah* in which they had resolved to oppose his advance, putting forward the worn out objection that he was fighting for the ex-King.

The strength of these tribes was well-known and it was impossible to force a march through them in the face of their combined resistance. The Marshal therefore despatched a few chiefs to remove misapprehensions.

Negotiations dragged on for days, but finally they were satisfied and not only repented of their rash action but promised to help the Marshal with men and money.

On the 5th April, he reached the military post of Orgoon. The local military force had come out to meet him, and as he passed through their ranks, he was greeted and welcomed. His appearance was hailed with gun-fire, loud cheers and national dances. Wherever he went he found crowds awaiting to receive him. The Marshal was pleased to know that the military force of Orgoon had held out in spite of severe threats from the tribes and had not surrendered their arms and ammunition. He promised to reward them handsomely for their sincere services and their brave resistance against such heavy odds.

Next day the *lashkar* left for Sari Roza. Rumours were heard that the Sulaiman Khel tribes meant to oppose their advance. The Marshal did not like the idea of effecting a passage through them by force, for that meant waste of time and energy, and dissipation of forces. Negotiations, he knew, could not solve the problem. He therefore invited some of their leaders and personally talked the matter over with them.

He had to declare his policy once more. "At such a critical time," he repeated, "when the welfare, prestige and honour of our nation are in danger, how is it possible for any one of us to think of his personal welfare or individual interests? The present deplorable state of the nation demands that all of us should sacrifice our personal interests for the national cause. Let me tell you plainly that I am working neither for myself nor for anybody else. My sole

object is to serve my fatherland, and to see it once more in perfect peace and order. Regarding the question of the future king of the country, I have to repeat my previous declarations that it entirely rests with the people. I have no right, nor am I willing to force anyone upon you as your king. The election of a king is the right of the nation itself. Let the representatives from all parts consider this problem after the peace is restored. Till then let us work together and co-operate in bringing about the fall of our enemy. It was only with this view that I left my sick-bed far away in France and have come to do my duty to my native land."

The speech had the desired effect upon the audience. All of them were won over and most of them repented of their rash and unwise actions and promised that not only would they allow him a free passage through their lands, but would assist him with men and money to the best of their resources.

The next day's march lay through Zurmat. The local tribes began to show signs of hostilities. It was at first decided that the *lashkar* should proceed straight through their lands to the famous fort of Neknams, but Mohammed Rafique Khan, its owner, realising his dangerous position, informed the Marshal about the evil intentions of the people, telling him that his advance in that direction would be strongly opposed by the local tribes, and requesting him to avoid the route and proceed by some other way.

The same evening the *lashkar*, after many hardships, reached the village of Ibrahimkhel—at a distance of some eight miles from Gardez. It was here that

Levannai, the notorious Dari Khel dervish, with a few of his disciples came to meet the Marshal. He expressed sorrow at his past hostilities and promised to help him with his men in return for some money, and a sufficient quantity of arms and ammunition.

Next day the *lashkar* left for Baladeh, the chief village of the Ahmadzai tribe, at a distance of some three miles from Gardez. There the Marshal called a halt and determined to make this village his headquarters for the time being. He did not choose Gardez, because it was then held by Mohammed Siddiq and his men, most of whom were Kohdaminies, or the Bacha's partisans.

In Baladeh, the Marshal called a *jirgah* of the southern tribes. All their chiefs were invited to this meeting. Invitations were also sent to Mohammed Siddiq, to the Governor of Gardez and to other influential local chiefs, all of whom responded except Mohammed Siddiq, who had no desire to discuss such matters. But it was at this time that Allah Nawaz Khan succeeded in making his entry into the Gardez fort. He won over some of the chiefs to his side and asked them to compel Mohammed Siddiq to take part in the meeting, and if he refused, to threaten him that they would withdraw their help. They at last prevailed upon Mohammed Siddiq, who was obliged to leave for Baladeh, but he took with him some three hundred men fully armed. On the 15th April, Sirdar Shah Wali Khan, who had left Khost by a different route, also reached Baladeh, where this heterogeneous host manned from widely divergent and mutually inimical tribes was massed together. Mohammed Siddiq, not slow to realise the possibilities of such a mixed army, succeeded at last

in bringing about a clash among the various rival tribes.

In the evening, all of a sudden, there was rapid firing all round with fatal results. Who the enemy was, no one could definitely make out. It was, however, generally believed that Mohammed Siddiq was at the root of all this disturbance, because soon after the outbreak his three hundred men had secretly left for their headquarters. But in a state of panic everybody suspected everybody else. The disturbance did not last more than thirty minutes, but even in this short space of time many had lost their lives. When night fell, quiet was restored. Suspicion having rested very strongly on Mohammed Siddiq and the Governor of Gardez, they were taken into custody, and the next day the Marshal appointed Sayed Mohammed Khan and Abdul Ghani Khan to be the Governor and the Military Commander of Gardez respectively.

It had already been observed that on entering Afghanistan the Marshal had sent Sirdar Mohammed Hashim Khan to the Eastern Province: and it will be recalled that this province was the first to take up arms against the ex-King and that it was mainly through their hostility that Amanullah Khan finally lost his throne. After the expulsion of Amanullah Khan, the tribes remembered their old jealousies and rivalries and began to fight against one another, making the prospect of peace very uncertain.

It was at a time like this that the Marshal's brother made his appearance among them. He went from place to place, advising them to give up this internecine warfare and to combine their forces against the common

enemy of the nation. Most of the tribes withdrew from the civil war, but some had been bribed by the Bacha and continued to fight and thus obstruct the plans of Sirdar Mohammed Hashim Khan, whose task was, therefore, made extremely difficult. However, after incessant efforts on his part, their leaders at last agreed to send a mission to the Marshal with offer of help. This mission from the east, consisting of 130 elders under the command of Mohammed Gul Khan, the well-known Mohmand chief, met the Marshal in Baladeh on the 19th April.

People from all sides flocked to see them and learn their views on the question of the day. It was the first time in the history of the country that representatives from the two rival provinces, forgetting their tribal feuds, had come together with the object of combining their forces against a common foe. The southerners were greatly pleased to see their allies and there was great rejoicing on all sides. A *jirgah* was held in which the mission submitted a written document containing the views of the eastern tribes.

The first few items dealt with the causes of the revolution, and their justification for taking up arms against the ex-King. Then the situation of the day was fully discussed. The document declared the Bacha to be an outlaw and a public enemy, one who was bent upon the destruction of the country and its people, and therefore considered it necessary that all the tribes should work together in expelling him and preserving national integrity. They suggested that the two provinces should, as a first step, send a joint mission to the Bacha informing him of their views and of the destruction that he had brought about and asking him to vacate

the throne immediately, failing which he should be prepared for a combined attack from both the provinces.

All the eastern tribes had solemnly promised to ignore their enmities and to work unitedly towards the achievement of their common object, the removal of the Bacha and his men. And finally the representatives from the Eastern Province, keeping in view the past national services of the Marshal, requested him to lead them in the field of battle in case of a war, as in their opinion no other person had the capacity for this responsible office. All the proposals were accepted by the representatives of the southern tribes.

Copies of the proceedings of this meeting were sent round to all the tribes. All except the Sulaiman Khel tribes answered the call. They would not agree and said they were otherwise busy. Furthermore, they demanded that if the Marshal was not working for the ex-King, he should send one of his brothers to them to lead them in their march towards Ghazni, where the ex-King was at the time busy in making preparations.

This demand the Marshal was not willing to accept. His aim was to see the fall of the usurper and to restore peace and order; he was neither for nor against the ex-King; and on the very first day of his arrival he had openly and emphatically declared his policy. But the Sulaiman Khels would not agree. Their reply was significant. They held that in their eyes Amanullah Khan was more dangerous than the Bacha, and that only after they had succeeded in turning him out, would they turn their attention to the Bacha; and if in their opinion he was undesirable, there would be no difficulty in bringing about his fall.

The brigand on his side was not slow in realising the

danger from the south. He knew that every day that passed lessened his chances and lowered his prestige in the public eye. He could not bear to see the Marshal and his brothers working in the south. True, Amanullah Khan was advancing towards Ghazni, but he had no apprehension from that quarter, as he was aware of the waning prestige of the ex-King and also counted on the timely help of his powerful allies—the Sulaiman Khels.

In the south, too, he had allies, and powerful ones, but here he had to face an experienced general—a man of exceptional ability and held in great esteem. He was, therefore, compelled to devote his immediate attention to this side. An army about ten thousand strong, well equipped and well supplied with arms, was ordered to proceed straight towards Gardez and take the Marshal and his men by surprise. Another was sent via Khushi to march towards Jaji where Sirdar Shah Mahmud Khan was busy in collecting a *lashkar*.

There was no time to be lost. The Bacha had at his disposal motor-cars and lorries and Gardez was only a day's journey from Kabul. The Marshal left Sirdar Sheh Wali Khan in Gardez, and he himself at the head of his *lashkar* marched towards Logar. He had with him only two guns, four machine-guns and eleven boxes of cartridges. The first night he passed in Safed Qillah —the White Fort—at the entrance of the Tirah Pass. In the morning Zalmae Khan, at the head of his Mangali *lashkar*, left for Logar.

On the 24th of April at 9.30 in the morning the Marshal and his brother left for Charkh, a well-known place in Logar. He reached the top of the pass at about two in the afternoon. Here he was informed that some

of the Bacha's men were encamped in Darvesh and more could be found in the suburbs of Bedak or Charkh. At about seven in the evening he reached Charkh.

Mir Ghaus-ud-Din, the commander of the vanguard, on the pretext that he was not on good terms with the people of Charkh, had gone to another village, Dabar, to pass the night. The Marshal did not favour hasty action. He wanted first of all to inform the Bacha of the resolutions passed in the last *jirgah* where representatives from the Eastern Province also had taken part, and secondly he wished to see the chiefs of Logar and discuss the situation with them.

Next morning all the elders of Charkh came to see him. The Marshal gave them a cordial reception, and then made a speech enumerating the various calamities of the nation and explaining his object in coming to his fatherland. Then the resolutions of the last *jirgah* were read out, and the elders unanimously agreed to carry them out to the letter, and in testimony thereof put their seals and signatures on the document. A copy of the resolutions passed at this meeting was sent through Turrah Baz Khan to Pinin Beg, the Bacha's commander at Darvesh.

At this time the Marshal received information from Mir Ghaus-ud-Din, who was then at Dabar, about two miles ahead of the *lashkar*, that the Bacha's men were on him and that he was running short of ammunition. The Marshal was greatly annoyed to receive this news. He did not like fighting to commence so soon. He had sent a protest to the Bacha and his men and had so far had no reply. This behaviour of Mir Ghaus-du-Din clearly showed that he was not to be relied upon. He had not stayed at Charkh as desired by the Marshal,

and had commenced fighting without waiting for orders from him.

The acute situation left the Marshal no choice. He proceeded to Dabar.

On the 26th April in the morning the Marshal himself entered the field of battle and began to fire from one of the guns at the enemy's forts. After a few well-aimed shots one of the forts was totally demolished. By midday the brigand's forces were everywhere repulsed, and all the important places had been occupied. But at noon the enemy got sufficient reinforcements, their artillery fire increased and they began to assume the offensive from many directions. For one hour they continued their advance, but after this there was a pause, and then the *lashkar* made an assault and succeeded in re-occupying the lost places.

Unfortunately, they ran short of ammunition at this time. The demand was insistent and the Marshal was hard put to it to meet it. He managed at last to purchase a small quantity from the local people. Next morning there was a strong rumour that the Ahmadzai *lashkar* under Ghaus-ud-Din was dispersing in all directions and some of them had already crossed the Tirah Pass on the way to their respective homes. This treachery on the part of the Ahmadzai chief discouraged the *lashkar* greatly. It began to retreat pell-mell in all directions. Some of the nomadic tribes who had been mere spectators of the scene now fell upon the retreating *lashkar*, slaying and looting whoever they could lay their hands upon.

The Marshal did not lose heart. He tried to make a stand against the formidable hosts, but in vain. He was almost deserted and with only a handful of men

forced his way through the enemy, now in overwhelming majority. It was more by luck than anything else that he succeeded in reaching safely the Altamoor Pass, whence he proceeded to Sijinak.

Before leaving for Logar, the Marshal had sent orders to General Shah Mahmud Khan in Jaji to proceed via Dobandi and attack the enemy from the Khushi side. This was admirably carried out by the General. He succeeded in taking Khushi, where a large quantity of arms and ammunition, so badly needed, fell into his hands.

From there he advanced on Zarghoon Shehr via Barg and Surkhab. After a few hours' fight, the Saquoists had succeeded in retaking Khushi and thus cutting off the Marshal's retreat, the reverse being due to the treachery of Ghans-ud-Din: ultimately the Marshal was able to get to Sinjinak. This was staggering news.

The General saw that he was surrounded on all sides and even a retreat was well-nigh impossible. He became desperate and with a handful of men attacked the enemy at Khushi. But the *lashkar* was so disheartened that they had no desire to fight any longer; so the General, like his brother, was obliged to fall back and it was after many hardships and forced marches that at last he succeeded in meeting the Marshal at Sijinak.

The Marshal was in no way dismayed or disheartened. Even at this time, in spite of the discouraging rumours that all was lost, he kept his head. He would say: "I cannot lose heart by such ordinary repulses. I have determined to fight to the last. Even if there be nobody to help me, I, with my rifle, will continue single-handed to fight the enemy, with the idea of doing my duty

and averting from my nation this catastrophe. Either I will achieve my object or lay down my life in the attempt to secure national peace and prosperity."

Once more he invited the tribal chiefs to a *jirgah*, telling them that the repulse was not due to smaller numbers or military skill but to the treachery of Ghaus-ud-Din, who was secretly in the Bacha's pay; and that they should not think of giving up this fight for the noble cause of national deliverance, for he was sure success would crown their efforts in the long run.

The repulse at Charkh so greatly disheartened the tribal *lashkar* that the situation appeared desperate and hopeless. To make a fresh attack seemed impossible. Stories of the overwhelming strength of the enemy were circulating everywhere. Everyone was in a panic and disinclined to continue a losing fight. But the old veteran and his brave and faithful brothers were full of hope and courage.

Marshal Mohammed Nadir Khan had foreseen that the usurper and his blood-thirsty followers were no match against an organised and united offensive from the south. The discomfited *lashkars* were encouraged to rally once more. They were made to understand the importance of a concentrated effort, and were also shown the dark future that awaited the nation in case of their delay in taking immediate and bold action. Their confidence was once more gained and they were prevailed upon to make a fresh attack. Everyone vowed to expel the usurper at all costs.

Emissaries were despatched to all the southern tribes inviting their representatives to assemble in Sijink to attend a *jirgah* on the 12th May. The response was

encouraging. The *jirgah*, however, sat for several days without arriving at a definite decision. They were divided in opinion, some holding that renewal of hostilities would be heading for disaster.

But on the last day of the *jirgah* the Marshal stood up to make his momentous and epoch-making speech. He depicted the horrors of the day and the untold miseries of the people who were starving and suffering at the hands of the bandits. He called upon the audience in stirring language to stand up for the national emancipation. Everyone was moved, fresh enthusiasm was infused in them, and they promised to do their best in raising a fresh *lashkar* for the common cause.

Due to his machinations and intrigues Mohammed Siddiq, as has been observed, had been imprisoned. In the confusion that followed the discomfiture at Charkh he made good his escape. He soon joined the Bacha and advised him to pursue the retreating *lashkar* allowing it no time to rally again.

The Bacha and his counsellors lost no time in turning this opportunity to their advantage. Mohammed Siddiq was at once put at the head of the Southern Division, 15,000 strong. The army proceeded at a rapid pace towards Gardez. Passing the Altamoor they soon occupied the White Fort facing Gardez, thus gaining an important strategic position. Mohammed Siddiq was himself a trained and experienced soldier.

When the revolution broke out, he was at Gardez where he had been in command of the southern force for the last five years. He knew all the southern tribes well. He was not ignorant of their military skill, but he was also aware of their weak points, of their tribal jealousies and long-standing enmities, which he wanted

to use to his advantage. He tried to find friends and allies amongst them, and his efforts in that direction were to a large extent fruitful. The Sulaiman Khels and the Dari Khels promised him full support.

One of his hirelings, Faqir Mohammed, had the courage to enter the village of Milan, twelve miles from Sijinak, and try to win over the chiefs whom he knew to be out and out anti-Saquoists. Emboldened by his initial successes, Mohammed Siddiq went so far as to despatch personal letters to the chiefs of the *lashkar*, stationed at Sijinak, promising them handsome rewards as the price of treachery to the Marshal. One such letter was received by Zalmae Khan, the influential chief of the Mangals, which he at once submitted to the Marshal.

In order to know the real strength of the *lashkar*, and to understand the political situation of the south, after the victory of Charkh, the Bacha sent a letter to the Marshal, through one of his newly-made favourites, Abdul Latif, a native of Kohat, who had settled in Afghanistan following the Hijrat movement.

The contents of the letter were interesting. The Marshal was asked to give up the fight and to send his allegiance. He was promised in return any post that he would like to have, and the full benefits of his property. Failing this, it was threatened that all the members of his family, sixty-one in number, who were then in Kabul, would be at once put to death. Besides this, Abdul Latif also brought the message that if the Marshal had any ambition for the throne, the Bacha agreed to decide the matter by drawing lots on the Marshal's arrival at Kabul. The Marshal in the presence of all read out the letter, and the audience could not help bursting into

laughter, specially at the strange concession that the Bacha was ready to offer.

The Marshal's reply was in the following terms:—

"To Habibullah, the son of a water-carrier.

"I have received your message and the offer it contained. It seems to me that so far you are quite ignorant of my purpose and intention, and that your counsellors too have misguided you in this respect. My object in returning to my fatherland at such a time is neither to have the throne, nor to share it with you. I have come here simply to do away with internal unrest, and put an end to this bloody civil war, which is corroding the foundation of the nation. This national catastrophe has been brought about by you. Although due to your ignorance you do not realise the damage you have done to the nation, yet the sensible world lays all the blame at your door, and the day of reckoning is not far. Myself and my companions wish to see Afghanistan enjoying peace and prosperity, and on the path of progress. This is my goal, and whosoever crosses my path, I would look upon him as a national enemy and would do my best to remove him from my way.

"A few days ago I sent you a message duly signed by the representatives of the east and the south. It was clearly pointed out to you that so long as you held the reins of the Government, it was impossible to see peace in the country. You were, therefore, called upon to retire. You had the audacity to refuse. Even now I am willing to give you a chance, for I have come for peace, and have no desire to shed blood. Nothing would give me greater pleasure than

to restore peace in the country, without recourse to arms. But I am sure that so long as an ignorant person like you remains on the throne, the nation cannot enjoy peace or happiness. You are not fit for the responsibility that you have assumed, and no one is willing to accept you as king. I, therefore, once more advise you to vacate the throne and to let the people have a king of their own choice. If, however, you are obstinate and mad about the throne, you will be only aggravating the existing troubles of the country, and I will be compelled to fight you to the last. I am going to hold a second *jirgah* in the course of a day or two and the decision arrived at will be communicated to you at once.

"Regarding your threats to kill my relatives who are now in Kabul, in case I refuse to accept your sovereignty, let me tell you frankly that you again misjudge me. If in the cause of national welfare I were to lose all my relatives or even my life, I should feel proud of such a noble sacrifice. Remember, O tyrant! that these threats cannot deter me from my determination."

. . . . .

On the 17th May, the tribal representatives assembled again. All the tribes promised to send in their levies after a month as they were at the time busy cultivating their lands. But the Marshal could not wait, as Mohammed Siddiq was already on his way to Gardez. Something had to be done to check his advance. He therefore sent necessary instructions to Sirdar Shah Wali Khan, who was then in charge of the Gardez garrison, and promised to send him help soon.

Sirdar Shah Mahmud Khan moved towards Jaji in order to divert the Bacha's attention. It was at a critical time like this that the Bacha sent another message to the Marshal through Sirdar Ali Shah Khan and the notorious Abdul Latif. Ali Shah Khan, a cousin of the Marshal, did not hesitate to tell the truth and related the manifold atrocities of the Bacha and his men in the presence of a full audience including Abdul Latif. He told the Marshal that although all their relatives in Kabul might perish at the hands of the tyrant, yet this should in no way affect his programme. He added that they would all prefer death to an ignominious agreement, detrimental to the general welfare. The Marshal had once more to repeat his previous message, which enraged the brigand ruler to such an extent that all the members of his family were thrown into dungeons.

Mohammed Siddiq, realising the weakness of the Gardez garrison, advanced rapidly. Before beginning bombardment, he gave the garrison the choice of unconditional surrender by 3 p.m. The few men who were inside the fort were in no way prepared to meet the onslaught of this formidable host. Sirdar Shah Wali Khan was perplexed. He knew that there was no time to lose, the enemy was already knocking at the door. He held a hurried meeting to discuss the problem, but few agreed to fight. All hope was lost, when suddenly Abdul Ghani Khan, a brave and patriotic man, got up and made a short speech, telling them that he would in no case submit to the Bacha, whose very name was a national disgrace, the blackest spot on the history of the Afghans. He said that he was determined to fight to the last, and if none joined him, he would face the enemy single-handed. Saying this he took up his

rifle and left for the front. His brave words and bold example worked a miracle.

He was followed by sixty men. The overwhelming host of the invaders now began to press on all sides, but these sixty men put up a heroic fight. Much blood was shed and the defenders, in spite of heavy losses, held on. They were hourly reinforced, but at no time did their number exceed six hundred. At this critical time, the Ahmadzai *lashkar* arrived to the rescue of the besieged.

Fortunately, cavalry of Totakhels and Mangals of Mirzaka sent by the Marshal appeared on the scene. The tables were now turned and the Saquoists were dispersed. At nine in the evening the rout was complete. The enemy could not keep themselves even in the White Fort and had to cross the Altamoor Pass. Large quantities of ammunition and hundreds of prisoners fell into the hands of the victorious *lashkar*. Mohammed Siddiq, the Commander, who was severely wounded in the thigh, managed to escape. He, with four hundred men, took shelter in Sahak—six miles from Gardez.

The victory was complete; but the danger was not yet over. When the Marshal learnt of the outcome, he, apprehensive as he was of a counter-attack from Kabul, sent about eighty men to watch the Altamoor Pass, and a message was sent to Jaji asking Sirdar Shah Mahmud Khan either to attack Logar personally via Dobandi or to send a detachment there with necessary instructions and come to Sijinak himself. As foreseen, the Bacha, on hearing of the plight of his army, collected a large force immediately, and himself at its head, marched towards Gardez.

It was in the Altamoor Pass that he was fired at by

the eighty men already stationed there as a precautionary measure. The neighbouring tribes also came to their help, and the Bacha soon found himself hemmed in. It was with great difficulty that he managed to reach Kabul in his motor-car. Once more large quantities of arms and ammunition fell into the hands of the *lashkar*.

Sirdar Shah Wali Khan held a *jirgah* at Gardez in order to discuss the immediate line of action. Some were in favour of an attack on Kabul via Logar; others suggested that so long as Mohammed Siddiq was at Sahak, such a step could not be taken without danger.

They proposed to send an ultimatum to the Sahak tribes asking them to hand over the Saquoist General or to turn him out. To this the Sirdar would not agree; he knew it was risky to send such a message. This would make these and the other local tribes take up arms against him. But very much against his wishes he was obliged to comply with their request.

The Sahakis on receiving the message bluntly refused either to hand over Mohammed Siddiq and his men or to turn them out. A battle was now unavoidable. At first the Sahaki *lashkar* was beaten back and they were willing to sign an agreement, and to turn out the Saquoists. But as ill-luck would have it, they received reinforcements from Kabul and the Sulaiman Khel tribes and immediately assumed the offensive. Gardez was soon in danger and the inhabitants began to vacate, flying for shelter to the far-off villages. Sirdar Shah Wali Khan held out till the end. He sent a touching letter to the Marshal telling him that he would soon be obliged to bid good-bye to the Gardez Fort. He was already surrounded by foes on all sides, but even so

he did not leave the fort till its residents who had so faithfully stood by him were carried to safety.

With the disastrous fate of Gardez due mainly to the unwise and rash actions of the tribes and their mutual discord, the greatest stronghold of the south was lost. The Bacha was now in possession of nearly the whole country. Very little hope was left. From Gardez, the heart of the province, the Bacha could easily extend his tentacles in all directions. He would have no difficulty in establishing direct contact with the tribes. He would first try to bribe them and if that device proved useless he could use force, and would have little difficulty in bringing them to their knees.

The Marshal, however, contrary to the apprehensions of everybody, was still hopeful of success. With the remaining few men, he repaired to Jaji, where Sirdar Shah Mahmud Khan was busy in collecting a *lashkar*. The journey lay through a very wild and desolate tract of land. It took the Marshal full two days to reach his destination. During these days he could hardly take any rest. Once only on the way, at a place called Hazar Darakht, "One Thousand Trees", he stopped to take food. The elders of Jaji had come out to receive him at Shiga, where he was given a cordial reception. Great rejoicings with tribal dances and beating of drums soon made them forget the hardships of the journey.

Immediately a meeting was held. The Marshal was the first to speak and explain the causes that brought him to Jaji. He briefly dealt with the situation of the day, his aims and objects and the causes of the fall of Gardez. In the end he asked them to give up internal discord and work unitedly, otherwise there was no hope of national

salvation. Then one of the chiefs, representing the tribes, made a speech.

"All the Jaji tribes are extremely thankful for all the troubles that you have undergone for the sake of this country," he said, "and appreciate very much your past services to the nation. They express their deep sorrow on the behaviour of some of the tribes who, due to their ignorance, failed to realise the true value of your sacrifices. We consider ourselves fortunate to see you amongst us. This is the happiest day of our life and we will never fail to commemorate the anniversary of this day. We promise to abide by your orders and carry out your commands. Our *lashkar* is quite prepared and only awaits your instructions. We wish that under your guidance we may be able to rescue the nation."

The Marshal thanked them for their sincere wishes and said that he was not in favour of hasty steps. He would first try to bring about the union of the various tribes, for in his opinion that was more important at the time than bringing about the fall of the usurper, and unless that was brought about, there could not be any permanent peace in the country, and all their efforts would be frustrated.

He therefore asked them to do their best to unite the various tribes at war with one another. He suggested that missions be sent to them explaining the urgent need of giving up their tribal feuds and of making a united effort for the extirpation of the cruel régime, and the restoration of peace.

Consequently two missions were sent, one to Gardez and the other to the Eastern Province. A *lashkar* of some 2,500 Jajis under the command of Sirdar Shah Mahmud Khan was sent to watch the Dobandi Pass,

leading to Logar, and to try to win over some of the local chiefs to their side. On the 30th June, the two missions left for their respective destinations. During this interval the Marshal kept himself busy with propaganda work. A cyclostyle was procured and a weekly paper, *Islah*—the Reformation—was published which in the course of a few weeks began to prove very useful.

The mission sent to Gardez met the representatives of the tribes in the village of Totakhel. The tribes repented of their past behaviour, their selfishness and rash actions. They expressed their deepest sorrow on the departure of the Marshal and his brothers. They entered into a solemn contract promising to give up their differences and exert themselves under the guidance of the Marshal.

Kabul, the seat of government, for the last eight months had been groaning under various oppressive measures. The nobles and the high officials were either shot dead or were suffering tortures in dungeons and prisons. Most of the people were unemployed and did not know how to procure their daily bread. Shops were closed and trade was at a standstill. Afghanistan was entirely cut off from the outside world. The Bacha and his men, thinking themselves now masters of the country with none to dispute their rights, had increased their atrocities. Independence Day was celebrated at Deh Mozang near Kabul with great ceremony.

Kandahar had submitted to the Bacha and was governed by one Abdul Qadeer. Abdul Latif, the notorious Kohati and the messenger of Bacha, was in charge of the Police Department. The whole of the Kandahar Province was now part of Bacha's dominion. But the Kandaharis had by this time realised their

folly. During the days of King Amanullah Khan they wanted a change of Government; but the change, when achieved, proved to be worse. Some of the pamphlets and a few copies of the *Islah* found their way to Kandahar and had a salutary effect in rousing the people. One of the Achakzai leaders, Mehr Dil Khan, was strenuously exerting himself to shake off Bacha's yoke. Gradually he won a large number of adherents from amongst the tribes and the Bacha's military posts were taken and the garrison massacred. Feeling the general weakness of the Bacha's Government and the universal hatred of the people for him, he determined to march on Kandahar.

In the north the Bacha was very successful. His agents Mohammed Qasim Khan and Abdur Rahim Khan took the whole province without having an army at their command. Such was the general hatred of the people for the ex-King and his officials that the soldiers everywhere mutinied, killed their officers and sent their allegiance to the Bacha. Abdul Aziz Khan, the Governor of Mazar-i-Sharif, had to flee for his life. But soon the tables were turned. Ghulam Nabi Khan, a brother of Abdul Aziz Khan, with a handful of Turkomans and other Moslem tribes of Central Asia swooped down upon the country from the north and within a few days was able to take Mazar-i-Sharif and other important places as far as the Hindu Kush.

Even Sayed Hussain who was sent to oppose his advance had to take shelter in Qataghan. But at this time Ghulam Nabi Khan heard of the flight of the ex-King, and was so disappointed that he at once made up his mind to give up the struggle. Collecting everything that he could lay his hands on, he repaired secretly

to Russia, leaving the north once more to the mercy of Sayed Hussain, who did not fail to avenge his past grievances. The whole of the north, from the Zulfiqar Pass in the west, right up to Sar-i-Kul in the east, was now in the grip of the Bacha and his men.

In the east, Sirdar Mohammed Hashim Khan was going from place to place asking the tribes to give up their internecine warfare. He had been able to restore order and to form a temporary Government whose seat was at Kajja. At last he collected a small *lashkar*. It was sent to attack Kabul from the east simultaneously with the attack of the *lashkar* from the south. But unfortunately the southern *lashkar* had to fall back and the Bacha had time to control the situation; and the eastern expedition failed to do anything.

The Bacha was at this time at the zenith of his power. He was now the master of the whole country. Even Gardez, the strongest military post of the south, was in his possession. Yet he could not feel at ease. The Marshal with his brothers was still in Jaji busy with his work in uniting the tribes and organising a *lashkar*. The Bacha managed to collect a large army, about 50,000 strong, with the intention of attacking Jaji from different points.

But before he was able to embark on his expedition at the head of this formidable force, the Marshal thought of a plan of dividing his forces. Sirdar Shah Mahmud Khan commenced his advance on Gardez, thus keeping busy the Bacha's garrison there. The enemy was obliged to station an army of about 10,000 at Karez-i-Darvesh on the Kabul-Gardez Road.

In the east, Sirdar Mohammed Hashim Khan was asked to prepare another *lashkar* and to threaten the

Bacha's eastern flank, with the result that the Bacha had to send a large portion of his army to the eastern section. Hamidullah, Bacha's younger brother, was made the commander of this section. After a short resistance, Sirdar Mohammed Hashim Khan retreated and the enemy, thinking themselves victorious, made a hot pursuit. But their difficulties increased daily. Every day brought new troubles. If one tribe was subjugated, another in a different quarter would rise and more reinforcements had to be sent from the capital.

The Marshal, on the other hand, watched the course of events very carefully. He also made preparations on a larger scale. Invitations were sent to some trans-border Afghan tribes. The Orakzais were the first to respond. But as their way lay through British territory, they could not come to Jaji without the consent of that Government. H. Mohammed Akbar Khan was sent to consult the Political Officer at Parachinar. But the Government of India, declaring its strict neutrality refused passage.

The Waziris were next approached. A mission consisting of Allah Nawaz Khan, Nawab Khan, Jan Gul Khan and Abdul Rahim Khan left Ali Khel on the 5th August. Meanwhile, the Marshal collected stores of provisions at different places for the expected *lashkar* and at the same time worked busily with the cyclostyle.

Soon *lashkars* from all sides began to pour into Ali Khel. The Chamkani *lashkar* under the command of General Shah Mahmud Khan left for Mirzaka. This journey took him three days. On reaching the place, the General began to win over the local tribes to his side, with a view to attack Gardez.

The Ahmadzais and Totakhels sent in their men.

The Saquoists, annoyed to see such a state of affairs so close to Gardez, fell upon them, but after a contested fight of two days took to their heels. They were closely pursued by the *lashkar*. But due to rapid artillery fire and the strong position of the fort, Gardez could not be taken. The next day, the Saquoists were greatly reinforced. They once more came out to meet the *lashkar*. The battle was fought in the suburbs of Tor and Speen, and lasted for two days. Both sides suffered heavy casualities. The Saquoists were again beaten, leaving a large number of prisoners, and plenty of arms and ammunition.

At this juncture the Waziri *lashkar* arrived, and the Marshal thought of making a dash for the capital from a direction which the Bacha could have little imagined. Sirdar Shah Wali Khan was ordered to proceed via Dobandi to the Logar Valley. He commenced his memorable march on the 29th September.

His first objective was the post of Khushi, which he had little difficulty in occupying. From this place as his headquarters he sent a detachment of some thousand men to attack the Wagho-Jan Pass—the key to Kabul. In the evening the *lashkar* reached the pass and attacked the enemy. The battle lasted all through the night, and when the dawn broke, the Saquoists found themselves surrounded, and had to surrender. Besides prisoners, a large quantity of arms and ammunition fell into the hands of the victors. The *lashkar* returned to Khushi with the booty. The Sirdar was highly pleased to learn of their success but immediately sent another batch to guard the pass, which had, however, been reoccupied by the enemy in the interval. A second battle had to be fought.

At the same time another *lashkar* under Allah Nawaz Khan was sent to attack the Saquoists at Mohammed Agha. The place was stormed; large quantities of arms and ammunition were taken. Another detachment proceeded to the help of those who were fighting for Wagho-Jan Pass, and attacked the enemy from the other side. The Saquoists lost heart and dispersed. The pass was occupied.

For the last forty-eight hours since the commencement of the battle, the Sirdar had no rest. He was busy in sending men, ammunition and provisions wherever needed. But he was hopeful of his success as he was aware of the growing hatred of the people for the Bacha and his reign, and the demoralised condition of his army.

Kabul now lay twenty miles to the north—a distance of five hours' march. He knew it was the right time to strike. After his initial successes at Mohammed Agha, Allah Nawaz Khan was ordered to proceed towards Char Aseya, which he occupied the next day, and he was soon joined by the Sirdar with all his men. The Sirdar now divided his *lashkar* into two parts. One batch under Allah Nawaz Khan and Mohammed Gul Khan was ordered to proceed via Sang-i-Navishta and Bini Hisar and he himself at the head of the other division advanced on Kabul by way of Char-Deh.

He had no difficulty in reaching Chehl-Stoon, about two miles to the south of Kabul. All the points of strategic importance near Kabul were taken. The Bacha was not idle. He fortified the Asmai, Sher Darwaza and the Maranjan Hills, commanding the Arg and the city of Kabul; and all the members of the Marshal's family were taken to the Arg and put into dungeons.

The panic-stricken and famished people of the capital were too excited to sleep that night. Impatiently they peered into the darkness, intently listening for the first sounds of the invading army's approach; the consternation of the Bacha and his men adding to their secret joy.

The day dawned and the *lashkar* from the Bini Hisar began to advance. The Bacha himself went to Maranjan Hill and offered resistance. Thrice the *lashkar* attempted to enter the city but each time the heavy artillery fire from the enemy compelled them to retreat. The following night the *lashkar* again made an attempt and after a few hours' fighting succeeded in breaking their lines and reached the Chaman-i-Hazoori, the playgrounds on the outskirts of the city.

At the same time Sirdar Shah Wali Khan also entered the city in the face of heavy artillery fire (October 9th, 1929). The Saquoists were beaten at every point and most of them left for Koh Daman, while a few took shelter in the Arg where the Bacha was making his last stand.

There was general rejoicing in the city. The Bacha's officials fled and the Sirdar had no difficulty in restoring order and peace. Everywhere the citizens came out to meet him, and congratulated him on his success. Bands were played, drums beaten and songs sung in his honour. But the Sirdar knew that the danger was not yet over. The most critical time had yet to come. The Bacha with his chosen adherents was inside the Arg, and all the members of the Marshal's family were kept there to be put to death as soon as the Arg was bombarded. The Bacha sent word that each bullet fired in that direction would find one of his relatives as its victim.

Sirdar Shah Wali Khan had to communicate with the Marshal on this point. In the evening, Purdil, the Bacha's Commander-in-Chief, with all the men at his command, attacked the city from the Paghman side. Sirdar Shah Wali Khan and General Shah Mahmud Khan with a handful of men went out to meet him. Near Shehr Ara, the old Habibia College building, a decisive battle was fought, and fortune once more favoured the heroes; Purdil himself was mortally wounded.

On the 11th October, the Sirdar received a reply to his letter sent to the Marshal. This letter showed how the Marshal was ready to make the heaviest sacrifice for the sake of his fatherland. He ordered his brother to commence bombardment immediately.

The letter ran thus:—

> "At this crisis when the choice lies between my family's life and the safety of the nation, I do not hesitate to sacrifice the former. I therefore command you to begin bombardment of the Arg immediately without the slightest consideration for our dear ones."

The Sirdar on receiving the order did not flinch for a moment. With tears in his eyes, he began to bombard the Arg.

During the night a fruitless assault was made, for the artillery fire of the enemy held them back. Next day the bombardment was resumed. The magazine inside the castle caught fire. The garrison soon lost heart. Even the Bacha realised that his days were numbered. Under cover of darkness he made good his escape. The *lashkar* now entered the burning Arg and

were relieved to find all the members of the Marshal's family safe. But the major portion of the beautiful Arg was burnt to ashes.

The news of this success was at once communicated to the Marshal in Ali Khel. People from all parts of the country flocked to the capital. On the 16th October, the Marshal reached Chehl Stoon and at ten the next morning he entered the city. Thousands of the people of all tribes stood on either side of the road to greet him. He was received with the shouts of "Long live the Saviour of the Nation!"

The Marshal proceeded straight to the Salam Khana —the Hall of Reception. Representatives from every part of the country had gathered there. One of them got up and thanked the Marshal and his brothers for their innumerable services. The Marshal made a brief speech, telling them that they should realise the national losses and do their best to recoup them.

All the representatives earnestly implored the Marshal to accept the throne, but the Marshal was unwilling to go so far. He said that his aim had been achieved and his duty was done. He wanted to return to private life at Aliabad—two miles from Kabul. But the people who had realised the true worth of the Marshal would on no account leave him. His remonstrances were in vain. He was their saviour and so he must be their king. The hall resounded with the repeated shouts of "Long live King Mohammed Nadir Shah!" The Marshal wanted to speak but for a long time he was given no opportunity to do so. At last when the enthusiasm abated a little the Marshal stood up. To an audience that was respectfully hushed, he addressed these words:—

"Gentlemen," he said, "my object was only to free you from the cruel hold of the Bacha and to put an end to the Reign of Terror, and this by the grace of God and by your co-operation has been achieved. Now I hope you will kindly permit me to retire and take rest. It is for you now to choose a king. Let your choice fall on some worthy person who is in your opinion fit for this task. As for myself, to tell you the truth, I am not in a position, nor am I willing, to take up this onerous duty. Long ere this I made my aims and objects clear to you."

On this, the chiefs were all the more clamorous in their demand. All of them with one voice declared that no one was worthier to be their king; and that his refusal would plunge the country into worse troubles. In the name of the love and honour of the country, that was so dear to him, they requested the Marshal to accept. Taking advantage of the Marshal's hesitation the people again shouted: "Long live King Mohammed Nadir Shah, the Saviour of the Afghans and the Liberator of the country!" Although aware of the poor condition of the country and the heavy task that lay before the Government, the Marshal was so much pressed that he had to yield. The audience were overjoyed to hear his acceptance and for a long time the hall rang with shouts of:—

"Long live King Mohammed Nadir Shah!"
"Long live the Saviour of the Nation!"
"Long live the Independence of the Country!"

CHAPTER XI

Rebuilding the State

When Marshal Nadir Khan took the reins of Afghan Government in his hands on the 16th of October, 1929, it was realised on all hands that a big fight of reconstruction was before him. He ascended to a throne of an utterly bankrupt country; the disarrangement of all official matters was beyond description, the animosities of the people against an established Government were extreme. In short, there was no law and order. To start rebuilding out of the ashes of such a disgraceful past required a Titan, but Ala Hazrat Mohammed Nadir Shah Ghazi, to give him his full kingly title, was not under any delusion regarding the future of his country if peace, won by him in war, could not be sustained by wise government. He was too sagacious to repeat Amanullah's folly and let the State affairs drift along anyhow, and once again be plunged into corruption. As during the trying time of the revolution, so in this—perhaps the bigger trial of the two—his passion for selfless service to Afghanistan stood him in good stead. No difficulty was too great for him, for a genuine passion, like a mountain stream, admits of no impediment.

Night and day they worked—he and his brothers—to right the wrong of two previous un-Afghan kings of Kabul; and in my warlike country, people are quicker to appreciate the goodwill of a man towards

them than anywhere else in the world. Confidence in the new Government soon returned. Within a few days actually the entire country, which had been convulsed by discord only a few weeks ago, had quietened down. The King's services had reached the highest pinnacle, for he proved himself as wise in peaceful organisation as he was skilful and gallant in war; he stood as a man without compeer in Afghanistan; and what follows is the description of the State which he organised himself and from which every impartial observer will agree that he well-nigh performed miracles in statecraft—a new, vigorous, independent and united kingdom out of chaos and disruption.

His first notable Order was to the Ministry of Finance:

"Whereas according to information received," commanded the King, "the royal private property of Afghanistan is not personal in the real sense of the word, in other words, the private property has been so altered that from the beginning until now a great deal has every now and then been taken from the public treasury and added to it; and as it stands to-day, the area of lands, the number of shops and factories, etc., requires for its correct upkeep an office as big as the Ministry of Finance, and the whole affair has assumed such an intricate form that it is impossible to distinguish the real property from that added afterwards. We, therefore, considering all such properties as rightly belonging to the public treasury, ordain that all such lands, shops, etc., which now are included in the private royal assets be transferred to the public treasury of the nation and the office relative to the private property be abolished."

On the day of his coronation he commanded that the programme of his Government should be made known as follows:—

> The present Government shall direct and conduct the affairs of State in strict accordance with the tenets of the holy and sacred religion of Islam, according to the Hanafi School; and the Shoora-i-Milli (the Afghan Parliament) and Ministry of Justice shall be responsible for the enforcement of Islamic Law in the country. The department of Ihtsab shall be an essential feature of the Government, and shall be conducted in a systematic way in accordance with the articles of faith. The inhabitants of Afghanistan shall without distinction of race or creed have equal rights and shall be as brothers to one another. Purdah shall be observed in accordance with the Islamic Law.

Prohibition of Bribery and Intoxicants. All the employees of whatever grade or rank shall, in the Ministry of Justice, swear by the Holy Koran and promise that they will not accept bribes or presents from the people and shall conduct themselves in the discharge of their duties with clean minds; and from now onwards shall never give way to dishonesty, but will carry out their duties honestly and sincerely. Punishment for drinking shall be according to the Islamic Law. Sale of liquor, public or private, is prohibited in the whole country, and the inhabitants are not allowed to brew liquors. If liquors are manufactured in any house, or offered for sale in any shop and this fact be proved to a certainty, the articles used for the purpose shall be confiscated and the persons

concerned shall be punished as required by the Islamic Law. If any employee of the Government be found drinking, he shall, in addition to receiving the legal punishment, be dismissed from his post. This rule, however, does not apply to foreigners.

Military Affairs. For the maintenance of the Independence of the country and peace and order therein, the present Government desires to organise a regular armed force and to give its full attention to this matter which is a question of life and death for the country. And in order to educate the officers and give them knowledge and use of the military weapons and chemicals, a military college will be started as soon as possible. Conscription and voluntary recruitment shall be introduced.

Foreign Relations. Afghanistan shall maintain its relations with foreign countries as they were in the reign of H.M. King Amanullah Khan. The present Government wishes to establish relations of goodwill with adjacent countries and is prepared to make treaties of friendship in order to maintain and strengthen the Independence of the country.

Home Affairs. The Home Ministry shall devote its full attention to the appointment of governors and subordinates for the various provinces and districts, so that the work of government may be entrusted to suitable hands. It shall present a list of candidates before a selection committee for approval and sanction. It shall also try to make satisfactory telephone, telegraph and postal arrangements and shall

give early attention to the construction of bridges and roads for motors and other vehicles.

The Ministry of Finance. The Ministry of Finance shall control revenues efficiently and shall try to collect instalments from the various provinces as previously. Custom duties shall be charged as before, and the dues that have accrued shall be collected; but facilities shall be provided for making payments so that the people may not be burdened unnecessarily and the Government not suffer any loss. Remissions granted by previous Governments shall be recognised.

Trade and Agriculture. Afghanistan feels the need of these departments more than ever before; and therefore desires to establish commercial relations with Persia, Italy, France, Britain, Russia, America, Belgium, Germany, Japan and other countries, and Afghanistan would take advantage of the improvements made in all the civilised countries. The present Government wishes to start railways, work mines and construct canals for irrigating lands, and also wishes to introduce into the country modern methods of agriculture as used in the civilised countries of the world.

Education and Arts. Education and arts for religious and secular advancement are considered very essential; and as soon as the Shoora-i-Milli (Parliament) is inaugurated and representatives from different provinces gather, ways and means shall be discussed,

so that the nation may be educationally equipped for its safety and defence.

The Parliament. Representatives from all parts shall assemble at the centre, the people selecting them from among those who are learned, wise, faithful and have the good of the country at heart, and in whom the nation can fully put their trust. The ministers and governors shall be responsible to the representatives; and the President of the Parliament shall have rights of scrutiny or investigation, and shall be elected by the representatives.

The Prime Minister shall be selected and appointed by the King, and he shall organise a Cabinet of Ministers and submit its constitution to the King for approval and sanction.

The Army Reforms were next taken in hand. During Amanullah's time, Nadir Shah had more than once protested in vain against the unwise steps of the ex-King's Government. He was not in favour of the Makoolat system, by which the Government supplied food to soldiers and deducted expenses from their salaries. He desired that the soldiers should be paid their full salaries in hard cash. But the misguided ruler had not accepted these friendly counsels, and this he set out to put right as the first item. He increased the salary of the trooper to twenty-five rupees a month, besides granting him ration allowance, and he was paid regularly on the first of every month. In addition to the Central Military Hospital, every cantonment was provided with a dispensary and a qualified doctor. The old and ruined cantonments were repaired and new ones on the latest

models were built all over the country. Every cantonment was supplied with playgrounds. A large club is opened for the soldiers, who are now better dressed and decently equipped. They undergo regular training. Punctuality is strictly observed. Military laws and regulations are strictly carried out. There is now a military school and a military Academy, in addition to the arrangements for the instruction of officers under experienced European experts on modern lines. Recently, too, the foundation-stone of a military college has been laid in the historic fort of Bala Hisar. When completed, this will be one of the grandest buildings of its kind.

In matters educational a great step forward was taken, for the King devoted special attention to it. He considered that the true happiness of his people could only be achieved through education and peace. He himself was a man of great learning and a gifted linguist, commanding considerably fluency in six languages.

One of his first acts after taking Kabul was the reopening of schools and colleges, and each year witnessed the establishment of new educational institutions. One of the latest is the Faculty of Medicine (the first medical college of the country), where the medium of instruction is Persian. A medical school was started in the second year of H.M.'s reign, providing junior medical instruction to many young men of the country. All the expenses of the various institutions are borne by the Government. No fees are charged and nearly 20 per cent of the students, besides getting the benefits of free tuition, free books and other materials, are paid handsome stipends.

Every Habibya College student without exception gets 20 Afghanis per mensem for the first year, 30 for

the second, and 40 for the third year. Faculty students, in addition to their monthly stipends of 50 Afghanis each, get free meals and clothing. Great care is taken in the health of the students.

The Ministry of Education has a well-equipped dispensary and a qualified doctor. The students are properly examined and treated; no charge is made either for consultation or for treatment. In serious cases students are sent abroad at Government expense. While writing about the medical aid for the students, it will not be out of place to mention the medical arrangements for the general public. Many hospitals, including hospitals for mental diseases, have been opened in various parts of the country. A tuberculosis sanatorium on modern lines, equipped with all modern conveniences, has been erected at Aliabad. The Government maintains an orphanage where children are carefully looked after, fed and clothed, and adequate arrangements have been made for their education.

Government lends a very sympathetic ear to the directors of sports. Every school and college is provided with playgrounds, and supplied with all the materials without any charge. Competitions and tournaments are held, where members of the Royal Family and sometimes the King himself attend. The Scout movement, the latest activity in Afghanistan, has been introduced. The annual prize distribution is held under the auspices of the King himself. Promising students, after passing the final local examination, are sent abroad to U.S.A., England, France, Germany and Turkey at State expense.

Another club has been started for the students, which, besides being equipped with arrangements for all sorts

of indoor and outdoor games, possesses a fine, free and well-equipped reading-room. All the expenses are borne by the Government.

Technical education to fit students for various walks of public life and different branches of industry is also fully provided for, and there is no career in which even the humblest of subjects cannot hope to enter, equipped with a complete training entirely at State expense.

A great stimulus is given to literary research and production by the establishment of a special department, *Darul Talif*—Bureau of Education, under qualified professors of different nationalities, helped by the Afghan graduates themselves. Due to this encouragement many journals have come into being in different cities of the country. In Kabul alone there are about half a dozen, of which *The Kabul*, issued by the Anjuman-i-Adabi, deserves special mention. *The Iqtisad*, or the *Economic Journal*, is another, and deals with various economic problems and provides information about home industries. In all the colleges there have been started "Debating Societies" which have produced a very healthy effect on the students. Historical meetings to commemorate important events of Islamic history in general and national in particular have been occasionally held and greatly appreciated by the Government.

In order to offer facilities to people desirous of learning foreign languages, evening classes have been started, in which free instruction is given in German, French and English, and have proved very popular.

The King was himself a connoisseur of art and gave it every encouragement, as, in his opinion, it contributed to the happiness of the people.

Legal reforms next engaged his attention. Tortures

and all forms of cruel punishments formerly in vógue have been totally abolished. The old dungeons and insanitary prison-houses have been demolished, and new ones are being built on modern lines. Slavery is no longer allowed and a transgressor is severely dealt with. One of the proclamations made by him epitomises the new spirit. It categorically details the freedom of the subjects, the liberty of vote and the democracy of the new system of the Government.

In this connection, his inaugural address at the first sitting of the new Afghan Parliament (July 6th, 1931) is so important that it should be given in full:—

> "I open this Assembly of Moslem Counsellors in the Name of God, the Omnipotent, the Powerful, Who is the dispenser of happiness in this world and the next," he said. "And I pray for the guidance of the nation of Afghanistan unto God the Great so that under the shadow of the holy Laws of the Prophet Mohammed (may blessings and peace be on him) they may render high and especial services to this holy land of Islam and once again glorify the religion of God and assist in the advancement and progress of Afghanistan.
>
> "My beloved people! may God be praised that we see Afghanistan once again emerging safe and sound from the difficulties and distress born of dissensions and civil wars. With mind at ease and heart full of hope I begin to lay the foundation of this Institution of National Counsellors and proceed to explain to you the meaning of National Assembly. May God be praised that you and I are Mussalmans. Conferences are the foundation of all our actions.

By the injunctions of the Holy Koran we were, and are, bound to hold consultations, and in future too it shall be incumbent on us to act accordingly. Prophet Mohammed (may prayers and peace be on him) used to hold consultations for the solutions of problems. The rightly-guided Khalifas (may God be pleased with them) used to carry on their affairs by consultation. The Khalifas of the Bani Umayya Dynasty also held consultations. But it was the Khalifas of the House of Abbas who gave to such consultations a solid foundation in the procedure of their affairs. The representatives of the people used to be present at the Court of the day and held consultations with the representatives of the Nation in all affairs relating to the State. Subsequent to the Abbassi Khalifas, the rulers of Islam, considering consultations to be the negation of their power and prestige, paid less attention to this institution. Consequently, many periods of disruption, of changes and convulsions took place in the Moslem world.

"In Afghanistan conferences were held from remote antiquity, since we can consider the Afghan *Jirga* as the just ruler of the Afghans. For us consultation is no new thing. If the previous sovereigns did not hold conferences, the nation in their tribes and clans at any rate have not abandoned to this day their *Jirga* system. Amanullah Khan formed the Council of State and the Representatives of the Nation used to be present at the centre of the Government; but that Council or *Jirga* of Afghanistan did not prove to be advantageous.

"I pray to God that such dark happenings may not occur again in Afghanistan and that He may

grant us opportunities and judgment so that we may be able to remove all the causes of complaints as between the Nation and the Government and contrary to the precedent the Nation may regard the Government as its own Government and as a true servant desirous of the progress of the country. The modern Consultative Assemblies, like the Assemblies of all the Nations, which in the course of time have acquired progress and improvement, are an example of the advanced nature of the Councils of our preceding ages. Although the Nation has up to now expressed no desire for any such things, since I considered, and still hold, a National Assembly to be the foundation of prosperity and a special instrument for the reform of the country; and, which I had declared in my programme on the very first day, by the grace of God on this occasion, when peace prevails all over Afghanistan, I am enabled to inaugurate such an Assembly. When you read the little guide to the National Assembly you will know what difference there is between an Assembly of to-day and the *jirgas* of old. If you exercise properly your rights and watch the proceedings of the Government and make attempts at improving the National Assembly of Afghanistan the same will become the moulder of peace and the foundation of the prosperity and the advancement of the country; and I have hopes in God the High that civil wars and dissensions and disputes will disappear for ever from this fatherland of ours and personal questions will no longer be the cause of the downfall and the ruin of this Islamic land. And this country will ever remain happy, and the changes and revolutions will not affect or be the cause of

shattering and uprooting the prosperity and advancement of the country and the Nation; and the miscreants will not have the chance again to be at the helm of affairs. Able and righteous rulers and benevolent agents of the country and the Nation alone will be selected for the betterment of Afghanistan and they will engage themselves in her service. Tyranny and the worship of innovations and corruption and bribery will disappear altogether from this country.

"I am in a position to say that on the day that the Representatives of the Nation in the Consultative Assembly understand their rights and distinguish the harmful from the beneficial from the point of view of the general happiness, self-interest and dissensions will be removed and just from that day the epoch of happiness of Afghanistan shall commence. I pray to God that that day of happiness of our beloved country, the country belonging to me and belonging to yourselves, may be just this day, the first date of the opening of the Consultative Assembly. God is Omnipotent. He is merciful, He is gracious. As He has granted release to Afghanistan from a civil revolution and has vouchsafed peace to Afghanistan and bestowed on us honour, strength and unity, so in the same way I am not despondent regarding His further Grace. And we cherish the confident hope that the past revolution will be the last period of calamity and distress to our Nation, and I trust by the Grace of God it will have ended for ever. And this first day of the inauguration of the Consultative Assembly will be the first day of the period of happiness of Afghanistan which will last for ever.

"Honourable Representatives! do not be despondent. Periods of darkness, such as we have passed through, are to be found in the history of every nation of the world. After every difficulty there comes ease. After every downfall there is a sure ascent provided only that the creatures of God do not turn away from the path of Righteousness and Humanity, and do not mistake defects for efficiency and the means of degradation for weapons of progress.

"My dear children and my beloved people! what I wish to impart to you with regard to this new period, is the present foreign policy of Afghanistan, so that you may be in touch and well-informed about the foreign policy of your Government of to-day. As to the remaining problems, which have arisen during this period of a year and a half and a few months, light will be thrown on the same by the Prime Minister and the other Ministers. I wish to place before you whatever correspondence and transactions have taken place with the friendly States from the very beginning of my arrival this sacred soil of Afghanistan, so that my foreign policy may not remain undisclosed.

"When I set foot on the soil of Afghanistan, myself and Shah Wali Khan and Shah Mahmud Khan remained in the southern regions and Mohammed Hashim Khan and Mohammed Gul Khan were despatched to the East. At that time in the southern region there were no evidences of the influence of the followers of Bacha Saquo and no one gave any importance or respect or placed trust in the Saqqavi Government. But the moment Amanullah Khan with an army from Kandahar appeared in the boundary

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS SIRDAR SHAH WALI KHAN, THE VICTOR OF KABUL, AN UNCLE OF THE PRESENT KING OF AFGHANISTAN.

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of Kalat and Muqar and announced to the people round about his intention of invading Kabul, the people of the southern region became somewhat suspicious and they thought that I, along with my brothers, was engaged in the service for and on behalf of Amanullah Khan. I made it clear that my endeavour was put forth with reference to no personality. Even myself and my brothers had not come for establishing ourselves. We wanted only that peace should reign in Afghanistan and that the civil wars should vanish and that that person whom the entire Afghan Nation selected as their King should be appointed to the position. However, in spite of all insistence from me, the people of the southern regions remained suspicious of my declaration and were not satisfied. I was therefore compelled, in the absence of acknowledgment and confirmation of the entire Afghan Nation, not to take into consideration the declaration of my Kingship. In spite of all the pressure that was brought to bear upon me with every event of importance and occasions of defeat and failures, I always relied on the Name of God rather than on the name of Sovereignty and always gave preference to the kindness and blessing of God over the help that I might have attained by the title of King, so much so that in most parts of the southern regions confusion of thought prevailed and the followers of Bacha Saquo acquired complete control in the southern regions. They captured Gardez and occupied many parts of Khost, Orgoon, etc. At that time I thought to seek the help of the Afghan tribes in the independent territory. I wanted to get support from the Orakzai tribe. At that time the path of negotiations between

me and the Orakzais was in the hands of the British. Through Haji Mohammed Akbar Khan I entered into negotiations with the British Government. But the latter did not agree. They adduced their neutrality as their excuse and pointed out that to allow the Orakzais to go over to me would be a contravention of the declaration of neutrality and the British wrote me a letter to this effect, which letter to this day is with me. I was not disheartened over all this. I did not refrain from my undertakings. The brave tribe of Jaji and a section of the Mangals and Ahmadzais were in my hands. At last I decided to seek help from the Waziris whose pride in Islam and Afghanistan was touched and who were ready to support me and emancipate Afghanistan. The Waziris accepted my invitation and they presented themselves before me. The British Government became more detached towards me in this connection. They brought considerable pressure upon Haji Mirza Mohammed Akbar Khan in order to force me to send back the Waziris from Jaji to Waziristan. The declaration and letters that I had addressed to the people of Kandahar and the tribes of those districts and had sent them through Abdul Ghani Khan via Chaman were all received by the tribes of Kandahar and the proud Achakzais. But the British Government prevented Abdul Ghani Khan himself and took strong measures against his proceeding further and did not allow him to enter Kandahar. The moment my declaratory letters were received by them, the tribes and clans of the provinces of Kandahar stood by me, and I received applications declaring their pleasure at my efforts and their readiness to oppose

the followers of Saquo and their preparedness to execute my orders in the south. In spite of the objection of the British Government, as soon as I sent Haji Mirza Mohammed Akbar Khan again to Parachinar to explain the impossibility of sending back the Waziris, I despatched Shah Wali Khan, Shah Mahmud Khan and Mohammed Gul Khan, with other Waziri chiefs and a section of the Jajis, Mangals and Ahmadzais, Jadrans, Totakhels and Gardezis to the front of Lohgar and Kabul. The British Government were not as yet satisfied with the reasons of impossibilities of sending back the Waziris when the news of the conquest of Kabul was received. In short, before the fall of Kabul there were considerable obscurity and complications between myself and the British on the question of the Waziris. I was compelled by circumstances to try and persuade the tribes and clans of Afghans from whom I could get help, because there was left in me hardly a breath of life. The threats of the British Government with regard to the co-operation of the Waziris and the tyranny of Saquo had no importance in my eyes, since the period of my life was now very limited. I had determined to live with self-respect or die along with my family. Certain interested parties after the conquest of Kabul set afoot a propaganda to the effect that while I was in the southern regions the British had lent me help, and that I had in return given the British certain concessions. To-day, in the presence of you, the Representatives of the Nation, I avow that I have received no help whatsoever from any foreign Power. Only the kindness and help of God the Powerful and the loyalty

of the people of Afghanistan have helped me to capture Kabul. To support my efforts to free my country, only the especial Divine Grace and the valour and the spirit of the general Afghan Nation were utilised. As for those persons and people who cherished hostility towards the Government of Amanullah Khan, as well as the Ministers and officers and the spiritual leaders and respectable members of public, who were not agreeable to the harmful activities of Amanullah Khan, it is certain that their want of agreement with Amanullah Khan was for the good of the fatherland and the happiness of the Nation. They desired to keep him back from those thoughtless and vain-glorious activities which did not take into consideration the sentiments of the Nation, or of religion, since by the advice of certain short-sighted people he had disgusted the Nation, and had kept away from himself all the people of influence and fidelity whose services for the welfare of the community would have proved valuable to the Nation.

"My beloved people! I was much impressed when I heard the prattle of interested parties. My policy in Afghanistan is without any secret or mystery. My policy in Afghanistan is open policy. I wish to make everything clear to you, so that you may be acquainted with every circumstance and may know your own affairs.

"When I reached Kabul, and you, my countrymen, pressed and importuned me to be the chosen King of Afghanistan, the Foreign Ministry immediately announced the event to the whole world. In reply to the proclamation the Foreign Ministries of all the

friendly States sent congratulations and recognition of the present Government, and acknowledgment and announcement on their part of the same. The Turkish Ambassador was present in Kabul. The Ambassador of the Soviet Government also was the first to reach Kabul, and the friendly nations one after another sent their Ambassadors and accredited representatives to the Court of Afghanistan. In accordance with the principles of International laws I recognised all the treaties which the preceding Government had entered into with the friendly States. I have made no other treaty, secret or open, at all. No doubt, last year some of the States rendered assistance to us. For example, the Government of Great Britain without any condition rendered help to Afghanistan. This help consisted of a loan of £175,000 without interest and 10,000 rifles and five lakhs cartridges. And since this help is free from any kind of taint, secret or open, and is a gift without any stipulation, I have accepted it with gratefulness. Amanullah Khan, too, had accepted motors and telegraph wires and other things from the British Government and in the campaign against Mullah Abdullah 5,000 rifles and cartridges were accepted from the Government of India—transactions which to this day had not been made public and even when Amanullah Khan was in London, there were presented to him by the Government of His Britannic Majesty some amounts in cash, 10,000 rifles and sundry articles as gifts, which Amanullah Khan accepted. I tell you plainly and clearly what I have effected in respect of foreign policy. And I give you assurance that my Government up

to this day has given concessions or rights to no State, and so long as I am alive, God willing, no such transaction will receive my signature. I do not at all wish that there should be any secrecy or mystery in the foreign policy of Afghanistan. Similarly, I advise my Government and my nation that the geographical position of Afghanistan will under no circumstances tolerate secret diplomacy. It lies on us ever to eschew the ways of secret diplomacy.

"Besides the weapons which the British Government gave us as help we have contracted to purchase 16,000 rifles and one crore and eight lakhs cartridges from France. The price of nine thousand out of it has been paid off in cash and the balance will be paid in due course. The German Government, too, has assumed towards us an attitude of friendliness. For it has transferred to us the balance of Amanullah Khan's loan and has extended the period of repayment by instalment from six to eight years. The German Government has given us 5,000 rifles and five lakhs cartridges and has included the price thereof in the loan, the repayment of which has to be effected in eight years. At the same time, about 5,000 rifles and 50,000 cartridges in addition to the weapons which I have mentioned above have been purchased from England, the amount in respect of which has been paid in cash.

"Similarly, we have bought at a proper price from other friendly States weapons for Afghanistan. The treaties which have recently been entered into and which are being exhanged or which are under negotiations are as follows:—

A treaty between Japan and Afghanistan has been concluded and is being exchanged.

A treaty of neutrality between Afghanistan and Soviet Russia has been concluded *de novo*.

An agreement for a boundary Commission between Afghanistan and Iran has been reached.

We are going to enter into negotiations with Soviet Russia in respect of a commercial treaty.

We shall enter into negotiations with Soviet Russia in respect of Postal Exchange.

A treaty between Afghanistan and the Government of the Hedjaz has been negotiated.

"In short, whatever has taken place and whatever is being done has been declared to you without any reservation. And I wish once more to aver to you that the most advantageous policy which can be imagined for Afghanistan—and I always recommend its continuance—is this: that Afghanistan should observe neutrality, and with regard to her neighbours and all the friendly States should maintain relations based on such a progress and method as may not be inimical to the interest of Afghanistan, and that she should give practical assurance to her neighbours that Afghanistan will hold the balance perfectly even with regard to the equal status of her neighbours, and that she will hold fast to that policy. And it is just this policy which is the most wholesome, both for Afghanistan and for the neighbours of Afghanistan.

"As regards the Independent Frontier Tribes, let not this problem, too, remain untouched. For the question of Independent Territory is a question of

equal importance to Afghanistan and the British Government. Afghanistan is not free from anxiety about the border tribes with regard to the attitude of and conduct towards each other and the Government of India. I might say that the Frontier Tribes and ourselves are one with each other from the standpoint of Islam and tribal relations. The British Government has probably had experience of and witnessed this sympathy on the part of the Frontier Tribes towards Afghanistan and vice versa for many a long year. We cannot possibly repudiate this fellow-feeling. For the distress of the Independent Frontier Tribes is sure to have repercussions in Afghanistan. From this point of view the well-being and uplift of the Independent Tribes are always our desire and aspiration.

"Respected Deputies! this is the policy of your Government to-day, which I have described to you, so that you may be acquainted with facts without any reservation or exaggeration. Pray, be attentive to your duties. Ponder well over every problem and then give your decision. Apathy towards affairs of State is a great sin. In this very Assembly you will be deciding the fate of a great Nation. The mistakes and errors on your part will not be considered as your personal errors and mistakes. The harm resulting therefrom will accrue to a mighty Moslem nation and Government. Pray, apply considered judgment and practical circumspection in the solution of the problems before you. You have had sufficient experience as to what amount of harm was incurred by the preceding Government, on account of recklessness and the lack of discrimination between good

and evil on the part of the Nation. To put this country day by day into difficulties—I do not know how to construe this except to describe it as the perpetration of felony.

"Since your Government attaches great importance to consultations, and desires that it should ever be the source of such procedure that it could attain acceptance in the sight of God, and the joy of His creatures, and should achieve every necessary reform in accordance with the public sentiments; now with perfect joy I open this exalted Assembly of National Counsellors; and I have it in view that by Divine Grace as deliberative assistance to the Consultative Assembly, and to attain other exalted aims, I shall be able in future, to institute an Assembly of Nobles.

"In conclusion, I entrust unto God, you as well as the Government, and the beloved Nation as a whole, and pray unto God for your triumph and for the success of your sagacious deliberations."

In matters of world-diplomacy, Afghanistan made very significant contributions during His Majesty Mohammed Nadir Shah's rule, as is shown by the two appended declarations, one at the Disarmament Conference at Geneva, and the other at the World Economic Conference held in London.

In the World Disarmament Conference the Afghan Delegation gave its view as follows:—

Monsieur le Président, Messieurs:

"La Délégation Afghane comme toutes les délégations qui l'ont précédée par leur discourse, a écouté avec le plus grand intérêt les remarquables et émouvantes

paroles de Monsieur MacDonald, le Premier Ministre et le Chef Délégué du Royaume Uni.

"En suivant bien ce discours, notre délégation était particuliérement saisie par le sens et l'esprit des propositions directives apportées personnellement par le Premier britannique à un moment où la situation de la Conférence se heurtait aux difficultés prévues.

"A cette occasion, la délégation Afghane, l'accueille avec une grande sympathie tient à apprecier hautement son initiative et felicité Monsieur MacDonald et la Délégation du Royaume Uni.

"En effet, ce projet qui se trouve actuellement à l'étude preliminaire des délégations, mérite d'être pris comme une base ferme et finale des débats surs et rapides de cette Conférence. Nous nous déclarons favorable à ce projet dans son ensemble.

"Nous gardons toujours, un vif espoir qu'une fois les avantages ou les amendements logiques, concrets et essentiel apportés à ce précieux document et qui sont proposés ou demandés par la plupart des délégations, en second lieu d'examen, la conférence puisse enfin, mettre à la disposition de l'humanité un instrument d'engagement international dont l'application soutiendra la cause et l'existence réelle de paix mondiale qui est recommandée par Dieu et les hommes.

L'ÉTUDE DU PROJET:

"La Délégation d'Afghanistan a étudié naturellement ce projet comme les autres délégations représentées ici, et c'est pourquoi je me déclare partisan de certains modifications.

"Il me semble que personne ne peut nier que les délégués des gouvernments du quatre coins du monde

participants à une collaboration, ont travaillé sincèrement dans cette conférence pour arriver à un résultat attendu par tous les peuples du monde.

"C'est ce projet certainement qui contiendra le résultat voulu mieux efficace encore, s'il pouvait s'adapter à quelques avantages indiqués et recommandés.

"Toutefois, ma délégation ne manquera pas de présenter, cas échéant ses observations ou d'appuyer les remarques qui doivent être soutenues suivant leur nature. Pour le moment, je me borne seulement à faire une courte remarque en ce qui concerne la partie du désarmement de ce projet de convention.

"Concernant les effectifs, quoique nous n'ayons pas comme les autres pays non-européens, de chiffres d'effectifs fixés sur le tableau nous rappelant la résolution de la commission générale quant à l'observation des conditions speciales des pays, j'espère qu'au moment de la détermination des chiffres d'effectifs pour les paissances asiatiques, les cas particuliers mon pays seront observés.

"Dans la partie des materiels, nous sommes partisans des maintenant de l'abolition totale de l'artillerie lourde-mobile et des chars d'assaut de tous genres qui ont visiblement un caractère offensif.

"Quant au bombardement aérien, nous sommes favorables a l'interdiction intégrale du bombardement stipulée par l'article 34 du projet de la convention, et en plus, nous nous déclarons partisans de l'interdiction du bombardement même pour les besoins policiers dans certaines régions éloignées, c'est-à-dire la disparition des paranthèses qui donnent une exception dans cet article qui a une importance si capitale.

"Nous avons écouté avec une grande émotion nos

imminents collègues Monsieur Cemal Husan Bey Délégué de la Turquie et Monsieur Langue Représentant de la Norvége, nous apprecions leur point de vue si large et si humanitaire et nous appuyons formellement leur déclaration à ce sujet.

"Pour l'abolition de la guerre chimique, incendiaire et bacterienne, nous admettons avec plaisir la stipulation du projet de la convention, et nous nous félicitons de voir une unanimite complète pour cette abolition.

"Enfin pour finir, j'aime à souhaiter la réussite de toute initiative qui aboutisse au but sacre de la paix."

In the World Monetary and Economic Conference, the Afghan's Delegation gave its views as follows:

"The Afghan Delegation has the honour to set forth briefly the point of view of its Government concerning the problems before the present Conference.

"It is a well-known fact that Afghanistan, surrounded on the north by the U.S.S.R. and on the south and east by British India, is situated on a trade route of the greatest importance. Its mineral, agricultural and timber wealth, as abundant as it is varied, and its population of 10 million spread over an area of 731,000 Km. afford all the essential factors for its prosperity.

"Having established our independence we set ourselves to the economic and social reconstruction of our country, but we were taken unawares by the world crisis, and up to the end of 1932 our imports were considerably in excess of our exports, which clearly shows the difficult position of our country.

"The following are our export products: cotton, wool, silk, carpets, catgut, assafoetida, astrakhan, furs, sheepskins, goatskins, goat's hair, camel hair and fresh and

dried fruits. Our mineral and timber wealth has as yet scarcely been tapped.

"On the other hand we import sugar, coffee, tea and a large quantity of manufactured products, especially cotton goods.

"During the years of depression and under the influence of our adverse balance of payments, the national Afghan currency has constantly fluctuated. In consideration of the peculiar position of the country, however, we have abstained from applying trade restrictions or raising our custom tariff.

"Having thus given a very brief summary of the present situation of our country we now venture to give our views in regard to the problems under discussion.

I. ECONOMIC QUESTIONS

"(*a*) We can state that our country does not at present intend to apply any import restrictions. Nevertheless, it reserves the right to have recourse, if necessary, to such measures as the national economy may require.

"(*b*) We regret that we cannot accede to the proposal of a uniform tariff reduction for the following reasons:

(1) Our tariff is already so low that it would not allow of any reduction.

(2) In its present form, the Afghan tariff is fiscal rather than protectionist in aim.

(3) The peculiar position of our country and the need for protection expanding industries and attracting foreign contractors and capitalists make it necessary for us to have complete liberty in regard to customs measures.

(4) Moreover, we consider that there are difficulties of a technical nature both as regards tariffs and

currency which would prevent such efforts from being successful under present world conditions.

(5) In order to facilitate international transactions and to increase the purchasing power of the agricultural population it would be advisable for all raw materials to be exempt from import duties on entering industrial countries.

"(*c*) While admitting the importance of co-ordinating production, we consider that it can only be considered by countries exporting whether agricultural or industrial products on a large scale. New countries like ours must receive encouragement in such matters so as to raise the standard of living of their population and increase their purchasing power.

"(*d*) As regards the most-favoured-nation clause, and the method to be followed in concluding agreements, we should like to make the following statement:

(1) The most-favoured-nation clause, in its present unconditional form, cannot be maintained during the present crisis. As regards our country in particular, a large part of our trade is with border states and we therefore have to take advantage of the so-called "frontier" derogation. We further recognise the necessity for the *conditional* application of this clause, so as to ensure commercial reciprocity and equivalency, which are indispensable under present conditions.

(2) The bilateral method should preferably be used for the conclusion of agreements, in view of the wide differences existing between the situation of the various nations, which precludes international action.

II. MONETARY QUESTIONS

"(1) We are convinced that from every standpoint the question of stabilising the exchange is one of the first problems to be solved. Stabilisation is the only solid basis possible for any agreements to be concluded here.

"We are in favour of the establishment of an international monetary standard (in so far as that is possible).

"(2) Our monetary system is bimetallism and we hope that a system will be agreed upon permitting as far as possible of the use of silver with a view to the revalorisation of that metal.

"(3) Should gold be chosen as the sole international standard, it is extremely desirable and even indispensable to take into consideration the situation of countries which have no adequate reserve of that metal and are not in a position immediately to acquire sufficient quantities of it.

"(4) We should like to emphasise a point of fundamental importance: in our opinion stabilisation could not have the desired effect unless it were effected simultaneously in all countries and maintained jointly.

(*Signed*) ALI MOHAMMED,
Head of the Delegation."

And after reigning so illustriously for four years and twenty-two days, on the 8th November, 1933, whilst distributing prizes at a school sports meeting, the Great Servant of Afghanistan, Ala Hazrat Mohammed Nadir Shah, its Naji King, fell a martyr to the assassin's bullet at Kabul. It stunned the world: but we must

now inquire a little more deeply into the real secret behind Nadir Shah's assassination.

What, then, is the real secret behind the terrible events in Afghanistan, and the assassination of a ruler who, in the short period of his reign, had done more to consolidate his country than any previous monarch twice his age?

If anyone was firmly enthroned over the wild tribesmen beyond the Indian border it was Nadir Shah—soldier, statesman and diplomat. He had the respect of the fighting classes, for he was a successful general before the people invited him to rule over them; he obtained the goodwill of the clergy when he revoked the alarmingly futuristic edicts of his predecessor, and the people in general could not complain, for he earnestly strived to keep taxation at a minimum.

Those, however, who have their own mills to grind, never take kindly to the tranquillity of Afghanistan.

Straws in the wind had shown the trend of events for some months past: for the Afghan lotus-eaters were busy in their European exile lands.

First of all, we have been intrigued by the adventures of the "Mad Faqir"; we have seen a boy, yet to reach his 'teens, leading an army; the majority of trans-border tribesmen seemingly eager for battle and plots on behalf of the ex-King Amanullah.

There was a tendency to dismiss these events at the time as something merely local, and to believe that a short action on the part of the Afghan Air Force would speedily restore normality. Yet those who really knew were aware that the recent trouble on the North-West Frontier of India was much more serious than that. It had its genesis, not in the petty intrigues of

an unbalanced Faqir, but in something far more sinister.

Actually, the seat of the trouble was not on the frontier. It was not even in Kabul. It may seem strange to say this in relation to Afghanistan, but it is nevertheless true.

The intrigue was sponsored in a number of the capitals of Europe.

Ex-King Amanullah, when he refused battle at Ghazni and Kandahar, and fled, via India, to the Continent, believed that he was vacating his throne for a brief period only. There were many left behind in Kabul who subscribed to this opinion. They, and others, have tempered their actions against the day when Amanullah would once more return with powers of life and death.

For a long time Amanullah made his headquarters in Rome. More recently, his movements have been clouded in secrecy.

Wherever Amanullah has gone, there has been intrigue, not necessarily disseminated by Amanullah himself, but by the place-seekers around him.

Those who especially responded to Amanullah's desire to return to the throne are the members of a Charkhi family—a clan, who, during the days of Amanullah's kingship, were pampered Court favourites holding the rest of Afghanistan in thraldom.

When Nadir Shah was elected to the throne, this collection of lotus-eaters was denied the luxuries and the gratifying sweets so freely distributed by Amanullah, and, for its own safety, it migrated.

There is now a considerably colony of the Charkhi

gang in Berlin, plotting, intriguing, and always with attention riveted upon far-off Kabul.

The Charkhis have been very earnest in their endeavours, for this is the only way to explain the presence of arms and money among those who recently flocked to the standard of the Mad Faqir.

They take themselves very seriously—but perhaps it was only a coincidence that the brother of King Nadir Shah was shot dead in Berlin some five months ago.

It has to be admitted that the Charkhis selected their instruments with cleverness. The Mad Faqir of Lenanai, who suddenly emerged from obscurity, was an excellent person for the purpose of raising the standard of unrest.

Among the Frontier men the fact that a man is unbalanced goes for nothing. Rather does it afford him a sure and certain protection. But for his madness it is certain that he would have been done to death long before he was captured, as he was a few weeks ago.

The Mad Faqir stood for more than a mere trumpery trouble-maker. He represented, figuratively and literally, the sowing of the seed of unrest and turmoil, the Charkhi gold in his stomach.

The Mad Faqir stood for all that was dear to the heart of the freebooter. During the seven months of the reign of Brigand Chief Habibullah (the water-carrier's son), which were sandwiched between the flight of Amanullah and the accession of Nadir Shah, the Mad Faqir proved himself to be a redoubtable brigand—dashing, courageous, and with a fine contempt for the value of blood. His very presence among the tribesmen tingled the lawlessness which is in their veins and set them thinking.

Then there was General Ghulam Nabi, who was thrust to the front as a torchbearer. His selection marked another very astute move. He was the bearer of a name with which in Frontier circles trouble was conjured up.

The General was captured redhanded by the Government's agents whilst plotting against the present régime. He was removed to Kabul and departed this life early one morning when he was introduced to the mouth of a fully-primed cannon: for he had confessed his guilt.

Every one of these intrigues, as we know, was squashed, and although the only worth-while man in modern Afghanistan fell a victim to political intrigue, yet it is a singular tribute to his popularity and an appreciation of his services for Afghanistan that the entire nation within three days sent her accredited representatives to the capital to signify their allegiance to his son, and not a finger was lifted throughout the kingdom against Ala Hazrat Mohammed Zahir Shah, the martyred King's heir; and perfect quiet prevails in the length and breadth of the kingdom.

But although all quiet is officially reported in Afghanistan, and undoubtedly any serious outbreak can be effectively dealt with by the Afghan Government forces, yet anxious inquirers are still persistently asking whether Amanullah will make a bid for the throne. The repudiated King's own words, couched in no delicate tone, on the assassination of Nadir Shah have answered the question in some measure. But for a thorough understanding of the subject more intimate light should be shed on Amanullah's chances.

His success depends on three factors. Firstly, it rests on the extent to which he and his agents have

prepared certain Afghan regions for his being re-accepted; secondly, what financial and even military backing he has to carry on his *coup d'état* in its initial stages; and, lastly, when in possession of Kabul, what magnitude of power can he command to hold the country down, and evict the present reigning dynasty? These are weighty considerations.

As to the first condition, the powerful clansmen in the eastern province of Afghanistan, who not only led the revolt against him, but remained his inveterate enemies even when certain other tribesmen, wavered in their sympathy, do not still bear Amanullah's name spoken at their tribal gatherings. The Kohistanis of the Northern Highlands, whence the brigand water-carrier's son rose to drag Amanullah down from the throne, naturally enough cannot envisage any friendly sentiment for him.

Even the generally amiable clans of the west, in the Herat area bordering on Iran, have no particular love for Amanullah; ample proof of which was elicited when Amanullah's Foreign Minister, Ghulam Sadiq, flew to the Western Province bearing bags of gold, trying in vain to buy their loyalty for his master during the revolution.

The only remaining section of Afghanistan where he may hope to have a hearing is in the south. Regarding this, it is worthy of notice that these southern clansmen were so hostile to Amanullah that they actually hesitated to join forces with popular Nadir Shah against the water-carrier's son, thinking that Nadir Shah was fighting to re-install Amanullah.

But Amanullah's family connection with the south notwithstanding, his lack of courage as a soldier in

battle was made so patent to the Afghans that when he took refuge among them upon abdicating—that is, even when, after repeated exhortations, he managed to muster a faint-hearted soldiery—he never as much as gained a single point in battle with them on the Ghazni front; and thus completely lost even a semblance of a good name amongst those who gave him refuge.

Thus, from south, north, east and west of his father's legacy, he stands finally divorced as a leader of men, and the Afghan king is either a leader or a dead man; although Amanullah preferred to save his skin by running away, possibly in the hope of fighting another day.

Furthermore, the religious men of the country who were maltreated and jeered at by Amanullah and his Court hangers-on will not be human if they can advise their followers to favour Amanalluh. The nobles, too, of great power like the Durani family, who were not only slighted but harassed into voluntary exile or forced isolation in Afghanistan, cannot forget their undeserved evil days at the hands of the deposed king.

And it was, indeed, the tragedy of Amanullah when, not appreciating as to what wild oats he had sown, he cried when fleeing the country to Chaman on the Indian frontier: "Alas, after ten years, that this should be my fate." Alas, too, that he failed to see that he had fashioned his fate by his own hand.

When conditions were and are so unfavourable for his reception in Afghanistan, it is really begging the question to assert that "it will be definitely bad for his health to step into the God-gifted Kingdom of Kabul."

The report that Nadir Shah's assassination is a reprisal for Ghulam Nabi's execution is groundless

inasmuch as Nadir Shah had nothing whatever to do with the passing of the sentence. It was Ghulam Nabi, in whose possession incriminating documents were found after he headed a revolt who impelled the Afghan National Assembly to pass judgment. Withal it shows that the tentacles of Afghan political agitators can be helpful to Amanullah's designs.

Finally, if by some miracle the discredited king manages to reach Afghan territory, and his money and murder gang find a footing amongst those whose cause he has betrayed, it is a gruesome fact that flames of revolution will once again rise higher than the Indian frontier.

Meantime, Nadir Shah is dead—the only man whom the Afghans can call a true representative of their race and tradition. He, too, was a model Moslem. His son has taken his place. Long live he: but will it rest there? It must: for Afghanistan has passed through the full cycle of intrigue. Passions must now be bottled, feuds have to be unearthed and ruthlessly stamped out; and intriguers sitting in the peace of Europe should really cease making a laughing-stock of their country, a country which gave them nothing but honour, riches and power, which they so dastardly outraged, and still wish to precipitate the ruination of a dynasty of which every Afghan ought to be a zealous supporter.

HIS LATE MAJESTY MOHAMMED NADIR SHAH, WITH HIS BROTHER, H.R.H. MOHAMMED HASHIM KHAN, THE PRIME MINISTER OF AFGHANISTAN; HIS EXCELLENCY SIRDAR FAIZ MOHAMMED KHAN, THE MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS, AND OTHER IMPORTANT OFFICIALS OF THE ROYAL COURT AT KABUL.

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CHAPTER XII

The Final Shape

What follows is the most authentic and latest information of the facts and form of the Afghan State, as consolidated under His Majesty Mohammed Nadir Shah Ghazi.

The King is the supreme head of the Executive, the Legislative, the Judicature and the National Army. He has no personal responsibility and is inviolable. The King can declare war, make peace, condemn treaties, make laws in cases of emergency, subject to subsequent confirmation of the National Assembly. It is his prerogative to sanction and promulgate laws, to convoke, open, close, prorogue, extend the life of and dissolve the National Assembly, to exercise Royal clemency, to confer medals and orders and to determine status and precedence. He appoints the Prime Minister and approves the appointment and removal of other ministers.

The present king surrendered all Royal domains to the nation. According to constitution, the throne of Kabul is hereditary. It shall pass to a brother or son who has attained majority. The King may appoint a successor, if he fails to do so, an emergency meeting of the National Assembly will be summoned within twenty days to nominate a successor.

CONSTITUTION

By the Fundamental Law (Usul-i-Asasi) of 31st October, 1931, the supreme Legislative power is vested

in the Parliament, consisting of the King, a Senate (Majlis-i-'Ali-i-A'yan) and a National Assembly (Majlis-i-Shura-i-Milli). Laws may be initiated by the King, the Government, and either House, but require the consent of the National Assembly and Royal assent. The Presidents of both houses are members of the Cabinet.

The Senate consists of a maximum of 40 members who are nominated for life by the King. Now there are 38. They sit throughout the year.

The National Assembly consists of 120 members, all of whom are elected. The National Assembly elects its President, Vice-Presidents, etc. It is in sitting from May to October, and may be summoned at any other time. It has the right of inquiry into every department of government. Votes upon all laws and codes, all financial matters, new taxes and new valuations of taxable property, the budget, amendment and repeal of existing laws, terms of monopolies, formation of public companies, confirms treaties, approves agreements and treaties, grants concessions and commercial, industrial, agricultural and other monopolies to nationals and or to foreigners, sanctions national debts, subscribed by Afghan subjects, foreign loans for any purpose whatsoever and the construction of railways and new truck roads. The National Assembly has the right to present addresses to the King.

Ministers possess the right of attendance and speech in both Houses, but are not members. Ministers are severally and jointly responsible to the Parliament and may be impeached before a Special Tribunal.

One member is returned by each constituency of about 100,000 inhabitants, for a period of three years. All Afghan subjects over the age of 20, who are neither

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H.R H. SIRDAR MOHAMMED HASHIM KHAN—THE AFGHAN PRIME MINISTER—IS SEEN REPLYING TO AN OFFICIAL ADDRESS; H R H. SIRDAR SHAH MAHMUD KHAN, THE AFGHAN WAR MINISTER, IS STANDING JUST BEHIND HIM

bankrupt nor convinced of criminal offences, nor legally incapable of managing their own affairs, and who have resided within the constituency for at least one year, are electors. Voters between the age of 25 and 70, who are educated and of good repute and are not Government employees, are eligible for election. Men and officers of the army and police may neither elect nor be elected.

There is also a Grand Assembly (Loe Jirga) of the nation, which assembles every four years, under the presidency of the King, to discuss general policy.

The Cabinet is as follows:—

Premier
Minister for War
Minister for Foreign Affairs
Minister for Finance
Minister for the Interior
Minister for Justice
Minister for Education
Minister for Commerce
Minister for Public Works
President of the National Assembly
President of the Senate
Director-General of Public Health
Minister of Posts, Telegraphs and Telephones

Other Ministers who have no seat in the Cabinet are:—

Minister for the Royal Court
Chief Secretary to the King

LOCAL GOVERNMENT

For the purpose of local administration, Afghanistan is divided into five major provinces (Wilayat) and four

minor provinces (Hakumat-i-Ala). The provinces are divided into prefectures (Hakumat) which are of the first, second and third class, according to their size and importance. Some prefectures are further subdivided into cantons (ilakahdari). Kabul has a Governor whilst each major province has a Deputy Governor (Naib-ul-Hakumat) at its head, while minor provinces are governed by Chief Administrators (Hakim-i-Ala). Certain prefectures are grouped together to form a district (Hakumat-i-Kalan) under an Administrator (Hakim-i-Kalan), who is subordinate to the Provincial Government. In all provinces and districts there are executive councils, consisting of local heads of departments and consultative assemblies (Majlis-i-Mashwarah), consisting of elected representatives of the inhabitants, under the presidency of the governors and administrators to assist them and to decide upon certain cases prescribed by law.

All large towns having municipalities, which elect their mayors, subject to the approval of the Provincial Governments concerned. The qualifications for municipal citizenship are the same as for the election of the National Assembly.

TRIBAL ORGANIZATION

The Afghans consist of several tribes and clans. The appointment, succession and removal of tribal chiefs (Khans) and head men (Maliks) is vested in the king. The chiefs are often elected to the National Assembly and Provincial Assemblies. Some of the more important ones are members of the Senate. They are responsible for furnishing the tribal quota of con-

scripts, for the security of the roads and for assisting the police in the apprehension of offenders in their respective tribal areas. Often cases are referred to tribal arbitration boards (Jirgas) for decision. While the chiefs enjoy a great deal of respect and wield considerable influence, they do not form a privileged class and hold the dignity at the pleasure of the King.

A special school has recently been opened at Kabul for the education of sons of tribal chiefs.

AREA AND POPULATION

The extreme length of Afghanistan from the north-east to the south-west is about 700 miles, and extreme breadth from the Herat frontier to the Khaiber is about 600 miles.

The population is estimated to be 12,000,000, out of which number the majority are Pushtuns or Pukhtuns. The rest of the population is made up of Tajiks, Hazarahs, Uzbegs, Turkomans, Nuristanis, etc. The chief languages spoken are Pushtu and Persian, while minor languages are Turki, Baluchi, Nuristani, Urmari, Hindiki, Pashhai, etc.

The chief towns are:—

Kabul	Khanabad
Qandhar	Faizabad
Herat	Tashkurghan
Mazar-i-Sharif	Gardaz
Maimanah	Ghazni
Andkhui	Balkh
Farrah	Asmar
Jalalabad	Badakhshan

The Administrative Divisions are:—

Major Province	*District*	*Prefecture*	*(Grade)*	*Canton*
(1) KABUL (Kabul)		Chardehi	(II)	Chaharasiab
		Bagrami	(III)	
		Dih Sabz	(III)	
		Surubi	(III)	
		Paghman	(III)	
	Simt-i-Shimali (Charikar)			Chaikal-o-Rubat
				Istarghich-o-Sinjid darrah
				Bayan-o-Khawjah Khizri
		Tagab	(II)	Koh-i-Safi
				Naghlu-o-Uzbin
				Allahsai
		Rezah Kohistan	(II)	Durnamah-o-Giawah
		Ghorband	(II)	Shinwari
		Koh Daman	(III)	Shakardarrah-o-Guldarrah
				Kalakan
				Istalif
				Qarabagh
		Jabl-us-Siraj	(III)	Gulbahar
		Nijrab	(III)	Kharijdarrah
		Panjsher	(III)	Chahar Qaryah
				Darrah-i-Hazarah
		Surkh-o-Parsa	(III)	Shibar
		Saighan-o-Kamard	(III)	Saighan
	Ghazni (Ghazni)			Jaghatu
				Andar
				Zanakhan-o-Kharwar
		Kattawaz	(I)	Wazkhawh
				Shirin
				Shiganah
				Barlak
		Mukur	(II)	Ab band
				Nawah-i-Belan
				Nawah-i-Khurd-o-Kalan
		Qara Bagh	(II)	Jan Murad
		Jaghuri	(III)	Malistan

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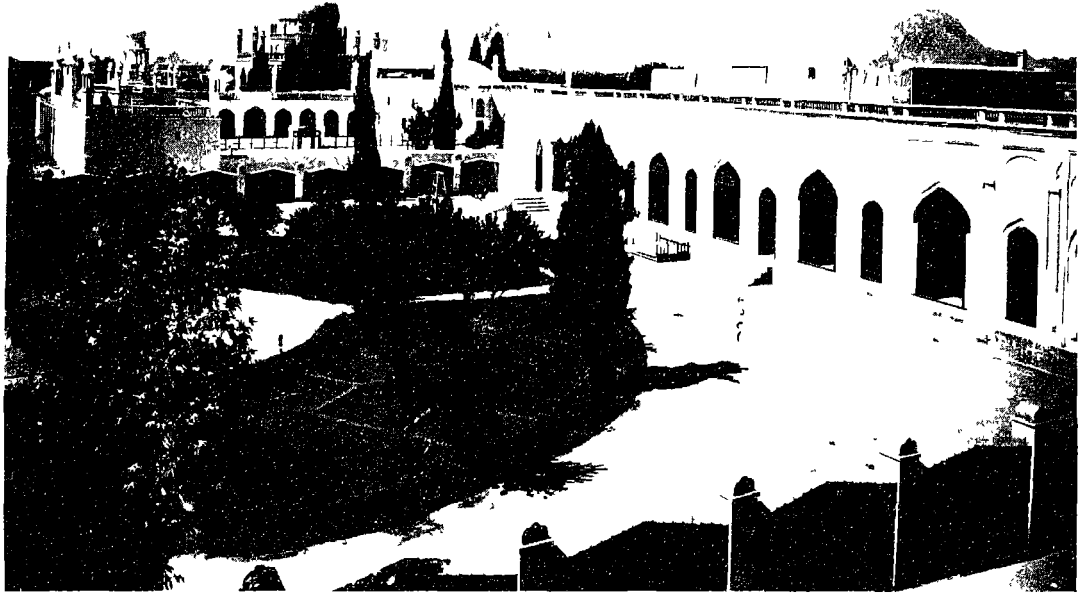

A SECTION OF THE OFFICIAL BUILDINGS IN ANDAHAR

Major Province	*District*	*Prefecture*	*(Grade)*	*Canton*
	Deh Zangi (Deh Zangi)			Sih-Pae Lal-o-Kirman
		Behsud	(I)	Hissah-i-Awwak Hissah-i-Duwam
		Deh Kundi	(III)	
		Yakkaolang	(III)	
	Lohgard (Baraki Rajan)			Charkh Patkhawb-Shanah Khushi . . . .
		Kulangar	(II)	Muhammad Agha
		Wardak	(II)	Dih Mirdad Jaghatu
		Maidan	(II)	Jalrez
(2) QANDHAR (Qandhar)				
		Kadani	(I)	Shagah-o-Shigi
		Garmser	(I)	Khanashin Hissah-i-Reg
		Deh Raud	(I)	
		Ghurak	(I)	Sarban Qillah Khakrez Nesh
		Dand	(I)	Arghandab Daman Panjwai
		Arghistan	(II)	Ma'ruf
		Kishk-i-Nakhud	(II)	Qala'h-i-Bust
		Tirin	(II)	
		Dahlah	(III)	
		Shorabak	(III)	
	Rusht-Rud (Grishk.)			Taghi-o-Baghran
		Musa Qal'ah	(I)	Zamindawar Nawah-i-Barakzai
		Nauzad	(III)	Wahsher
	Uruzgan (Uruzgan)			Chorah, etc.
		Grizab	(III)	
		Ajristan	(III)	

Major Province	*District*	*Prefecture*	*(Grade)*	*Canton*
	Qall'at (Qall'at)			Arghandab
				Shahjoe
		Daya-o-Chopan	(II)	
		Hotak	(III)	Nawah-i-Shimilzai
				Atghar
		Tarnak-o-Jaldak	(III)	Mizan
(3) HERAT (Herat)				Karrukh
				Chakla-i-Gandarak
				Joe nau
				Kambraq
				Injil
				Adwan-o-Tezan
				Iltijan
				Inshan
		Sabzwar	(I)	Kara-uchah
				Anardarrah
		Ghorian	(I)	Kohsan
		Kushk Qara Tappah	(I)	Gulran
		Qal'ah-i-Nau	(I)	Qadis
		Ghor	(I)	Barchaman
				Pasaband
		Bala Murghab	(II)	
		Tolak	(II)	Karshi
		Obe	(II)	Shaflan
		Chaghcharan	(II)	Jowand
		Shahrak	(III)	Farahrud
(4) MAZAR (Mazar-i-Sharif)				Nahr-i-Shahi
				Boina Qarah
				Kishindih
				Charkind
		Tashqurghan	(I)	
		Sangcharak	(I)	Balkhab
		Daulatabad	(II)	Shor Tepah
		Balkh	(II)	
		Darrah-i-Suf	(II)	
		Aibak	(III)	Rui-o-Duab
	Shibirghan (Shibirghan)			
		Aqchah	(I)	Nahr-i-Faizabad
				Karkin-o-Khamyab
		Sar-i-Pul	(I)	Kohistan

Major Province	*District*	*Prefecture*	*(Grade)*	*Canton*
(5) QATGHAN (Khanabad)				
		Ghori	(I)	Tala-o-Barfak
				Baghlan
				Doshi-o-Kilagae
		Andrab	(I)	Khost-o-Firing
				Khinjan
		Taluqan	(I)	Kalafgan
				Wirsaj-o-Farkhar
				Khawjah Ghar-i-Wali
		Nahrin	(II)	Falol-o-Jibildagh
		Hazrat-i-Imam	(II)	
		Chal-o-Ishkamish	(III)	Chal
				Tegi-o-Sihab
		Qunduz	(III)	
	Badakhshan (Faizabad)			
		Rustaq	(I)	Shahr-i-Buzurg
				Ragh
				Chah-i-ab
		Darwaz	(II)	Khawhan
		Kishm	(II)	
		Zebak	(II)	Wakhan
				Shighnan
		Jurm	(II)	Anjuman-o-Minjan
		Yangi Qal'ah	(III)	
Minor Provinces				
(1) SIMT-I-MASHRIQI (Jalalabad)				
		Laghman	(I)	Chaharbagh
				Alishing
				Alingar
				Nuristan
		Khogiani	(I)	Hisarak-i-Ghilzai
		Surkhrud	(II)	
		Rudat	(II)	
		Shinwar	(III)	Dih Bala
				Nazian
		Mohmand Darrah	(III)	
		Kama	(III)	

Minor Province	*District*	*Prefecture*	*(Grade)*	*Canton*
	Asmar (Asmar)			
		Bar Kunar	(III)	Nuristan Kamdesh
		Khas Junar	(III)	Chauki
		Kuz Kunar	(III)	
(2) Simt-i-Junubi (Gardez)				Rud-i-Ahmadzai
				Matta Khan
				Shirakae-i-Zurmat
				Mammozai
				Totakhel
		Khost	(I)	Tabarzal
				Sabrae
				Jaji Maidan
				Mandzai
				Tanni
				Gurbuz
		Urgun	(I)	Parmal
				Zirak
				Gomal
				Sari-i-Rauzah
		Mangal	(II)	Musa Khel
				Qalandar
				Lujjah
		Jaji	(II)	Chamkani
				Rar Mangal
				Hasan Khel
		Jadran	(II)	Shumul
				Nikhah
				Shuwak
				Almarah
(3) Farah (Farah)				Lash-i-Juwin
				Chahar Burjak
				Nad-i-Ali
				Bala Bolak
		Chakhanasur	(I)	Chakhansur
		Bakwah-o-Khawshrud	(I)	Bakwah-o-Khawshrud
(4) Maimanah (Maimanah)				Tagab-i-Shirin
				Kohistan
				Alma-o-Qirai
				Birun Sunah
				Qaisar
		Andkhur	(I)	

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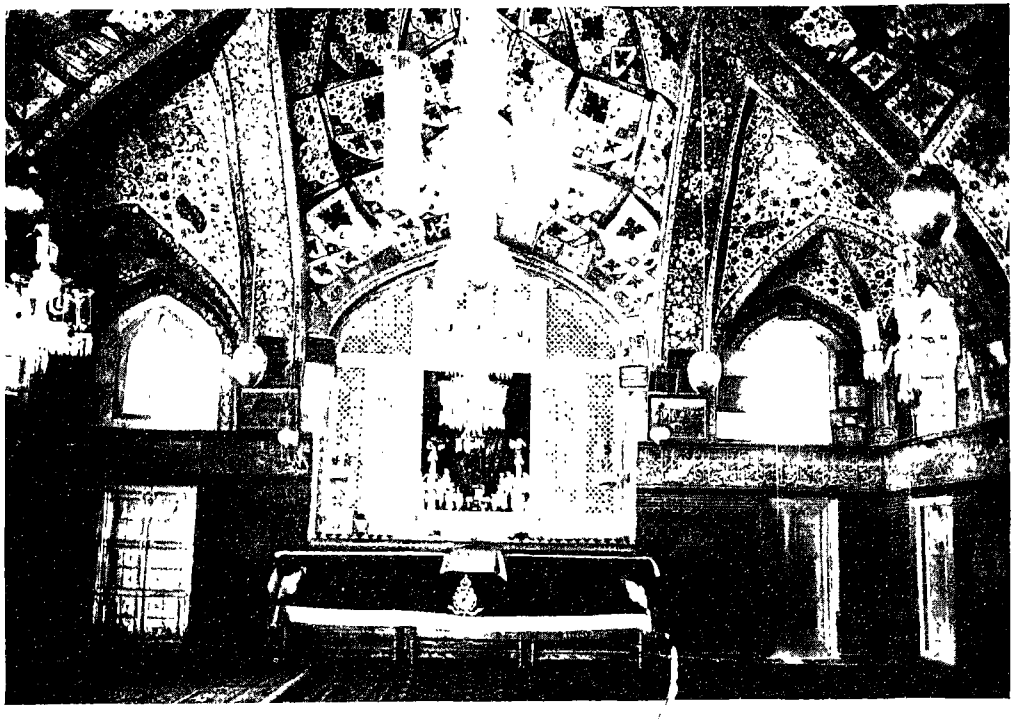


THE INTERIOR OF THE SHRINE WHERE THE CLOAK OF THE HOLY PROPHET MOHAMMED IS BELIEVED TO REPOSE AT KANDAHAR

Minor Provinces	*District*	*Prefecture*	*(Grade)*	*Canton*
		Darzab-o-Gurzuoan		

RELIGION

The State religion is Islam of the Hanafi school, but freedom of worship exists for all religions and sects. Most of the Hazarahs and Qazalbashes (descendants of Persian immigrants) are Athna Ashri shiahs, while a certain number of people in Badakhshan belong to the Ismaili sect. Jews are to be found in most towns north of the Hindu Kush and at Kabul, while Hindus Sikhs are settled in all the towns and important villages. The only Christians, Parsis and Buddhists are to be found among the members of the various embassies and legations and the foreign merchants and employees of the Government.

The King is the religious head. Places of worship and shrines of saints are maintained by the State. The mosques are of three grades: (1) Masjid-i-Jami', where besides daily prayers Friday service is celebrated; (2) Masjid-i-kabir, in which there is a muezzin as well as an imam; and (3) Masjid-i-saghir, which has only an imam. In the first, Imam-i-Jami', Khatib, Muezzin and Khadims and in the rest Imams and Muezzins are appointed by local bodies. The heads and staff of pious foundations are appointed by the Government, but it does not interfere in the election of the heads of the religious houses and families. Foreign missionaries are not permitted to enter the country.

EDUCATION

(A brief survey)

Like all countries, education in Afghanistan was at first closely associated with religious institutions. The Department of Education was founded in 1906, since then its history can be divided into three periods.

The first period was of suspicious toleration, which lasted from its birth to 1920, when the graduates of the only institution for Higher Education—the Habibia College—so ably discharged the onerous duties that fell on their shoulders in consequence of the entry of Afghanistan into the field of international politics.

The second was the period of innovation, which may date from 1921 to 1928. During those years, changes were made for the sake of change, and without regard either to the national needs and traditions or the experience of other countries. Practically every mistake in the field of education that had been made anywhere was repeated. For example, French and German were made languages of instruction from the infant classes upwards.

These classes were taught by foreign teachers, who did not know the language of the pupils; the pupils did not know the language of their teachers, and an interpreter who did not know the subject was provided to act as a bridge between them.

Not only was the enthusiasm for education which the brilliant success of graduates of the departments schools produced, frittered away, but it was weakened and disorganised.

The third is the period of reorganisation. At its

commencement in 1930, though the Ministry of Education had to begin from the very beginning, a definite and a constructive policy was adopted, which aimed at building a system of modern education from the infant school to the university on the solid foundation of public good-will and national life, traditions and institutions. The last seven years have been of a period of reconstruction, reorganisation and reform.

The most noteworthy reforms of recent years are: The recognition of the traditional mosque schools, which exist in every village, and each street of the towns, as an integral part of the school system. They provide instructions of reading and writing generally on co-educational lines to the infants and the juniors. They are financed by local bodies, and such as fulfil certain conditions receive aid from the Central Government as well. By this measure and provision of facilities for teacher-training an attempt is being made to raise them slowly to the standard of junior primary schools.

The second fact is the separation of schools for children of seven to eleven years and eleven to fourteen, which took effect last year.

Thirdly, the total exclusion of foreign languages from the curriculum of junior and senior schools.

Fourthly the application of the principle that in a primary school the medium of instruction should be the mother-language of the child. Since the beginning of this year instruction is provided through the medium of Pushto in Pushto-speaking areas and in Persian in the rest.

Fifthly, as these two languages are chiefly spoken in different parts of the country, in the interest of national unity and mutual understanding, the second vernacular is taught in the last two years of the junior school and

throughout the senior school since the beginning of the current year.

Sixthly, the detailed courses of study containing suggestions for teaching are being issued.

Seventhly, the provision of modern text-books in both Pushto and Persian; twelve books for junior schools are ready, another eighteen are in press, and the rest are in active preparation.

Eighthly, secondary schools, which admit students who have completed the junior-school course, and provide instruction for eight years in two stages, the middle (Rushdiah) for four years, and High (Idadish) for another four years, and teach a foreign language in addition to the vernaculars, have been co-ordinated with the senior schools by making provisions for special classes in them designed to enable intelligent pupils who have completed the senior school, to learn the foreign language with a view to bringing them in line with those who have finished the middle stage of secondary schools.

Ninthly, the opening of schools of medicine, pharmacy and architecture for men, and of nursing and midwifery for women, besides continuation classes in languages, commerce and banking.

Tenthly, the founding of a national University at Kabul.

Eleventhly, the far-reaching reforms in the Normal School and the provision of an additional two-years' course of training for teachers of the new senior and middle schools.

Twelfthly, the abandonment of the policy of concentration of all secondary schools and institutions of higher education at the capital, which formerly starved

the provinces, because no provision was made for the residence of provincial pupils. Secondary schools are being opened this year at all provincial capitals, while steps have been taken to make all institutions for higher education at Kabul residential.

Administration.

The administration of education is centralised. The Ministry of Education through its Directors (Mudirs), Superintendents (Mamur), and Inspectors (Mufattish) directs the whole system. The provincial and local councils advised by these educational officers administer the mosque schools; but with the exception of military schools, all other types of educational institutions, primary, secondary, vocational and superior, are under the control of the Ministry of Education. A permanent Bureau of Education (Dairah-i-Talim-o-Tarbiah) consisting of six members has deliberative, administrative, inspectorial and judiciary functions. For administrative purposes each province constitutes a unit under a Director (Mudir) or in minor provinces a Superintendent (Mamur), but the inspectorate is directly under the Minister. Local elementary schools of the traditional type, in which instruction is imparted in religion, reading, writing, and number for four years in the vernacular Pushto or Persian, exist with every mosque, that is, in every village. Government schools calculated to provide instruction to children of seven to eleven years of age and from eleven to fourteen have been provided at the headquarters of all districts to serve as models, and junior schools are being opened at the rate of fifty per annum at the principal towns of the prefectures and cantons.

Legislation.

Under the Fundamental Laws of 1931, education is compulsory. It is, however, enforced only to the extent that accommodation becomes available in the schools. Education of all grades is absolutely free. Books and stationery are provided by the Government. Lunch in secondary day schools and board and lodging in residential institutions are also free. These are, however, temporary measures. Stipends and scholarships are paid to indigent and deserving pupils. By decree of 1935 50 jaribs of land (about 12.5 hectares) have been reserved at the capital of each province, 20 jaribs (5 hectares) at each of the districts, 10 jaribs (2.5 hectares) at each of the prefectures, and 5 jaribs in each of the cantons for educational purposes.

Finance.

Elementary mosque schools are supported partly by local and partly by the Royal Government. Primary, secondary, vocational schools and institutions of higher education are wholly financed by the Government. Recently several commercial companies, the Afghan National Bank and many other philanthropic individuals have followed the example set by His Majesty the King and the Royal Family, by making donations for educational purposes.

The Educational System.

The system envisaged by the reforms of 1935 is as follows:

Primary Education:

(*a*) Elementary Mosque and Home Schools for children of 5 to 9.

(*b*) Four-year Junior Schools for children of 7 to 11.
(*c*) Three-year Senior Schools for children of 11 to 14.

Secondary Education :

(*a*) Four-year Middle Schools for children of 11 to 15.
(*b*) Eight-year High Schools for children of 11 to 20.

Vocational Education.

There is a technical high school, and school of arts, which has departments of carpentry, joinery, smithy, brick-laying, building arts, carpet weaving, dyeing, printing, hosiery, tailoring, and besides drawing, painting, interior decoration, engraving, lithography, draughtmanship and architecture gives instruction for eight years after junior school.

An agricultural school provides six years' training in agriculture, horticulture and dairy farming. A School of medicine and pharmacy gives three years' theoretical and practical teaching to graduates of middle schools. There are also classes in motor driving and telegraph training.

Training of Teachers.

The Normal School accepts graduates of middle schools for a two-years' course of training for teachers of juniors. After two years' experience of teaching they may be selected to rejoin the Normal School for a further period of two years of general and professional education to emerge as teachers of senior schools.

Higher Education.

The Kabul University was instituted in 1932. At present it has only one faculty, that of medicine.

Provision for higher education in other branches is made by sending scholars to foreign countries at Government expense. At present there are Government scholars in England, France, Germany, Turkey, United States of America and Japan. A research laboratory is under construction and when completed it will take a certain number of students for training as chemists and analysts.

There is also an Institute of Islamic Studies and Muslim Law. Courses of instruction in International Law, Banking and Finance, Foreign Languages, Pushto and Persian are also conducted in the evening for adults.

Examinations.

A State examination is held at the completion of the junior school course, which admits to the senior, secondary and the various vocational schools. Similar examinations are held at the completion of senior school, middle school, high school and the various professional school courses. They are conducted jointly by internal and external examiners and are partly oral and partly written.

Language.

Pushto and Persian are the languages of institution in elementary and primary schools, Persian that of all others. Certain subjects, however, are taught in foreign languages in higher institutions.

Religion.

Religious instruction in the State Religion, ISLAM, is compulsory for all Muslim children.

Physical Education.

The late King took a personal interest in the popularisation of sport and gave a large sum out of the Privy purse for the provision of playgrounds. A European director of sports has been engaged recently. In 1932 the National Olympic Association was formed under the presidency of H.R.H. Shah Mahmud Khan, the Minister of War, to promote the movement. Athletic and hockey teams went on a foreign tour to take part in the Western Asia Olympic Sports at Delhi in 1934 and acquitted themselves creditably.

The present King is a keen sportsman and his interest was a source of great encouragement to the Afghan sportsmen who took part in the world Olympic Sports at Berlin.

Scouting.

The Afghan Boy Scout Association was incorporated by Royal Firman in the autumn of 1931 under the patronage of the present King. It was formerly recognised by the International Boy Scout Association on New Year's Day 1932. The Scouts number a little over a thousand.

Literary Societies.

The societies of Literature of Kabul, Kandahar and Herat, which were founded five years ago, are performing valuable service by carrying on research and publishing books and journals, among which the Annual of Kabul Society is worthy of note.

Museums and Libraries.

There are museums at Kabul, Kandahar, Herat and Mazar-i-Sharief respectively, and public libraries at Kabul, Kandahar, and Herat, besides the libraries of various ministries and colleges and pious foundations.

Publications.

The Bureau of Publications at the Ministry of Education compiles text-books in the national vernaculars, and also issues a monthly magazine known as *Ainah-i-Irfan* in Persian, which contains articles on educational matters.

Building Programme.

The erection of one college at Kabul, three secondary schools at Kandahar, Herat and Mazar-i-Sharief and forty junior schools has been sanctioned for this financial year. A University town is proposed to be built in the Darfulul-Funun area about five miles from Kabul.

Educational Health Service.

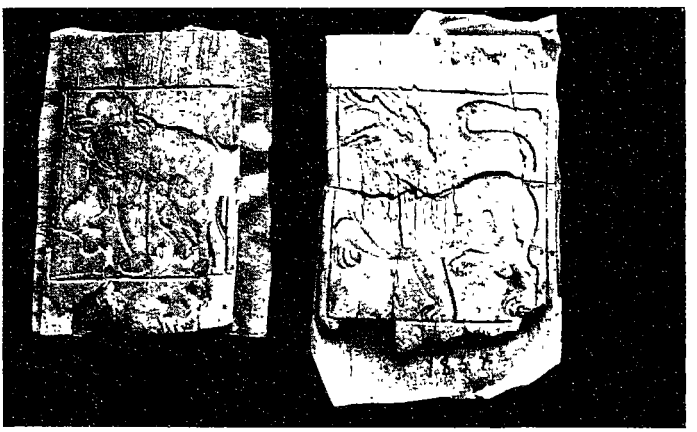
The school medical officer inspects all scholars annually, and the department maintains a free dispensary where scholars are treated and furnished with medicine free of charge. For serious cases a number of beds are reserved for scholars in Government hospitals and sanatoria.

Archæology.

The Ministry of Education is also charged with excavation of archæological remains in Afghanistan, and

(*a*)

(*b*)



(*a*) THESE VASES OF ROMAN ORIGIN WERE FOUND DURING A RECENT EXCAVATION AT KANDAHAR: ONE IS OF SILVER AND THE OTHER OF CLAY, BOTH CONTAIN ASHES AND BONES, AND DELICATELY WORKED GARLANDS OF GOLD ARE ROUND THEM.

(*b*) THESE IVORY PIECES OF INDIAN ORIGIN WERE FOUND DURING AN EXCAVATION AT BEGRAM.

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the maintenance of historical monuments. A French Archæological Mission has the monopoly of conducting excavations in the country; and as their work has been of utmost importance not only to Afghanistan, but also to the advancement of research and knowledge of the world, it is a singular honour to me to be able to include in this volume two papers relative to Bamiyan, the valley of Kabul and other places in Afghanistan, in which M. Joseph Hackin, the leader of the French expedition, and the director of the Musée Guimet of Paris, has given details so rich in archæological interest and importance. So grateful should the students of archæology feel to M. Hackin, and so careful must I be in publishing them here in their exact terminology lest my paraphrasing loses their authoritative scholarship, that I give those papers as they were spoken before the members of the India Society in London. Both to them and M. Hackin I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness in this regard.

"From September 1936 to August 1937 the members of the French Archæological Mission in Afghanistan undertook a series of researches the objectives of which were sites which were at times far distant from one another," says M. Hackin. "The autumn of 1936 (September-December) was devoted to prospecting on a wide scale and to excavations carried out at several places in the district of Chakansur in the Afghan part of ancient Seistan, 800 miles to the south-west of Kabul. On this occasion M. Ghirshman was temporarily attached to our Mission to conduct researches on the site of ancient Zaranj (now Nad'Ali), a few hundred yards from the Iran frontier. During this period the others collaborating in the Mission, Mme. Hackin,

and Messrs. Carl and Meunié, explored, under my supervision, in the desert zone extending to the north of the River Helmand, the outskirts of the ruined town of Sar-o-Tar. In the month of January 1937, we made our way towards the north of Afghanistan with a view to a reconnaissance in the direction of Kunduz in the territory of ancient Bactria from which discoveries of Buddhist antiquities had been reported. Our reports as to researches carried out in Seistan not being yet quite up to date, I will make a very summary statement of the results secured in the course of our expedition in the spring and summer (April-August 1937), the objective of which was the site of ancient Kapisî (now Begram), about thirty-five miles to the north of Kabul. This vast alluvial plain, the *dasht-i-Bagram*, attracted the attention of the English traveller Masson, who had secured from it a collection of old Indo-Greek and Indo-Scythian coins and had 'visited' several stûpas. M. Foucher devoted some pages to this site in his survey on the *Travels of Hiuan-tsang in Afghanistan* and suggested some identifications which form very useful landmarks.

"A methodical scheme for research drawn up in 1935 and approved in the course of the same year by the Commission of Archæological Research in Afghanistan which met at the Ministry of National Education, was set on foot and a beginning was made in the spring of 1936. The first workings were started by Messrs. Carl and Meunié in April 1936 on the site of the 'new royal town' and these were conducted in a north and south direction, following a depression corresponding to one of the large arteries of the town. The workings yielded a considerable quantity of pottery for domestic purposes

with a stamped decoration dating from the beginning of the Kushana occupation (first and second centuries A.D.). Researches on this site were renewed, under my supervision, by M. Jean Carl on April 16th, 1937. Further workings, in charge of Mme. J. R. Hackin, were opened at a distance of 200 yards to the east of the former. I allotted to M. Jacques Meunié the task of continuing researches on the site of the excavations of a Buddhist monastery situated three miles north-east of the 'new royal town'.

"Let us now return to workings No. 1. The clearing of the dwelling houses and shops on the main street afforded a fresh supply of ordinary pottery with stamped decoration of the Kushana period. At this point the work was stopped. When the clearing of the main street had been finished M. Carl immediately proceeded (at the end of May) to the valley of Fondukistan, about half way between Kabul and Bamiyan, where he was to begin digging on the site of a ruined Buddhist monastery, a work which brought to light objects of great interest.

"At workings No. 2 at Begram, the supervision of which had been entrusted to Mme. Hackin with the assistance of M. Ahmed Ali Khan Kohzad, there were cleared nine rooms of considerable size with thick walls and carefully built, the thin slabs used in building being strengthened here and there by the insertion of carefully dressed headers. Room No. 10, which was even larger than those mentioned above, had very carefully constructed walls. The clearing of the soil having been continued to a depth of nine feet the first objects were discovered; the whole of the northern part of the room contained works of art of blown glass and alabaster

and bronze objects. The glass objects, of which a great many were found, are productions characteristic of the glass-making establishments of the Syrian coast (first century to the commencement of the fourth century of the Christian era). Some painted glasses are in a remarkably good state of preservation; its transparency is, in many cases, retained to an extraordinary degree; the painted decoration is very slightly in relief; the bright colours which a finger-nail cannot scratch have the brilliancy of enamel. On a goblet of great size can be seen two women, and two men bringing them fruit; vegetation is represented by a palm tree and traces of light green foliage. We have referred to the brightness of the colouring and must also draw attention to the skill of the painter; even better than the design is the colouring carried out in light touches; the drapery is represented with great suppleness, and a thin white line, in many cases sinuous, traverses the lighter parts of the bodies. On a fragment of a vase of smaller size is shown a fight of gladiators; one of the fighters wears the Thracian dress with blue greaves, yellow 'fasciae' and a small square buckler ('parma'). His adversary wears clothing and arms of the 'samnite-sentum', long in shape, with single 'ocrea', the thighs being naked. Other fragments show fighting scenes between men on horseback and men on foot. Other types of glass are also represented, pieces with decoration in applied relief, the most fragile details being attached to the body of the vase by means of small glass studs. The personage appearing at the top of the tower is presumably Poseidon; it has even been suggested that this may be compared with the Poseidon engraved on a plate originating from Cobern on the Moselle and compared by E. aus'm

Weerth to the Poseidon Domatites of Pausanias. There are a great number of cut-glass objects and fish-shaped flasks or fragments of flasks and flagons or goblets surrounded with a lattice of threads of drawn glass arranged horizontally and held at a distance from the body of the vase by the interposition of spiral ornamentation applied vertically and following closely the shape of the object.

"The bronze objects, about fifty of them, scales, drinking horns, and saucers, are of well-known types; attention may be drawn to a kind of ceremonial shield consisting of two circular plates placed one upon the other; the upper plate, which is smaller than the lower, is ornamented with a repoussé decoration and parts attached in the relief. The face in the centre is a mask of Medusa eaten away by rust; the outspread wings covering the head are attached and movable; on either side of the head at the level of the eyes are four coiling serpents. There is a group of snakes under the chin. Round the head of Medusa are fishes with movable fins and tails, the parts attached being fixed by small rings fitted to the underside of the shield; the movements of the loose pieces are made easier by small spherical hinges of solid metal which balance the fins at the back of the shield. It may be noted that a Gorgon's mask, surrounded by symmetrical spirals representing the waves with six dolphins swimming in the centre, appears on an Etruscan mirror in the Medal Room in the Bibliothèque Nationale (No. 1345).

"Objects in alabaster are represented by a wine pitcher with handle above it, a patera with handle and an amphovizque.

. . . . . .

"All the objects found in the southern part of the room, with the exception of a few glass pieces, were jewel boxes consisting originally of a frame of thin wood to which were fixed plates and bands decorated with ivory and bone. The wood was only found occasionally, elsewhere appearing only in the form of brownish dust. In many cases the parts forming the box had completely disintegrated. Mica plates were in some cases inserted between the frames and the decorative plates. This latter part of our discoveries represents a new contribution originating from Central India or the Methura region. We already had some scanty information on the activities of the corporations of ivory workers; we knew, for example, that the guild of ivory workers of Vidisa (the modern Bhilsa in the State of Gwalior) supplied a bas-relief in stone, carved by its members, which adorns one of the posts of the southern gateway of the Great Stupa of Sanchi (middle of the second century B.C.)

"The soil of India had so far yielded nothing of the work carried out in these workshops. Hundreds of small ivory plates and bands decorated with bone have been brought to light at Begram, plates with the ornamentation merely engraved, carved decoration, the very slight relief of which is obtained by cutting away the parts not ornamented, pierced decoration and lastly works of a high degree of art, real carvings in which all the niceties of relief appear, the lines being carved by a vigorous and sure hand. Some of the pieces have a resemblance to the Sanchi ornamentation, with the lotus, flying creatures and winged monsters. A post of the eastern gateway of the Great Stûpa of Sanchi, bearing a lotus decoration with the characteristic device of a

long stem winding in regular fashion, shows interesting points of resemblance to a decorated band found in our No. 2 workings. These decorated bands offer a free interpretation rather than a servile copy of the Sanchi motifs. There were found also leogryphs very obviously of the same type as those represented at Sanchi (upper architrave of the outer face of the western gateway of the Great Stûpa and work in relief on the south column of the same monument). The winged monsters represent one of the familiar themes of the decoration of our boxes; they bear evidence of remote Mesopotamian influences associated with purely Indian ornamental details (corymbs and asoka leaves).

"The duck and the goose with intermediary variations, the Brahman duck for instance, designed on friezes with the happiest decorative effect, are also found, recalling by their characteristic attitude, the neck lowered, the head raised, the friezes of geese in flight, on the edge of a Kaniska reliquary, as also at Bamiyan and at Kizil. Female personages of opulent shape and with squat faces have a clear resemblance to certain sculptures of the Mathura school, Kusana epoch (first and second centuries of the Christian era). To the same period may be assigned the bands in which the pierced decoration stands out in low relief. The inconographical subject which shows a central personage clasping two monsters, recalling the favourite posture of Gilgamesh and of Emkidou, is known in several examples and developments which suggest resemblances to the ancient art of Sumer which cannot be a mere accidental coincidence. The representation of the anguiped with symmetrical tails well known at Mathura during the Kusana period, is to be found on our boxes. In this connection nothing

could be more suggestive than a comparison between the tritons of Mathura and Sarnath and the triton of Begram, the symmetrical tails of which are being devoured by sea monsters, makaras with tails erect. The most elaborate aspect of the work of our ivory workers is shown in scenes with figures, women occupied with their toilette. The modelling of the bodies is carefully executed; a graceful unconcern is shown in the posture which gives full effect to the shapely curve of the hips, emphasised by the boldly cut lines. All the elegance of the Gupta art of the 4th century is foreshadowed in these representations which are framed in an interesting border of ornamental foliage. This foliage emerges from the mouth of a human mask shown in profile on the right and the skull of which is prolonged into the neck and head of a horse; below appears a duck's head. Here, in fact, it is merely the case of one part of a curious assemblage which is seen complete in the upper right corner of the composition. The foliage shows interesting details; the first part which unrolls to the right ends in a lotus leaf from which spring two flowers and a straight branch with three leaves; the following piece of foliage unrolls to the left. It should be noted that one of the elements of which the stem of the foliage is formed is twisted round that part of the main stem which is common to the first and second piece of foliage. The second foliated scroll includes a duck flying to the right. The very unusual aspect of these foliated scrolls is worthy of attention, for it is interesting to point out that representations of this type are not unknown in Western art. One of the glass plates with which Scaurus covered the walls of the theatre built in Rome in 58 B.C. already shows this

decorative detail. We are also in a position to assign to places outside India in the domain of the Hellenistic art of Asia Minor, the origin of these composite motifs, the 'grylles' in which human faces surmounted by heads of animals with bodies of winged creatures are associated. Illustrations of Intaglios recently published by M. Zykan, taken from the work of G. Lippold, *Gemmen und Kameen des Altertums und der Neuzeit*, Plate LXXXIII, show some striking analogies with the assemblages which form the origin and starting point of our foliated scrolls.

"The same box also shows elements which are particularly welcome of a zoomorphic type of decoration representing the skilful application of a formula which is half way between conventionalization and realism.

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"The isolated mass of rocks which extends to the east of Begram, the Koh-i-Pahlavan, the 'mountain of the hero', was literally surrounded by religious foundations built, some on a projecting spur, the others more modestly erected at the foot of the mountain on a rocky promontory looking on the river; this is the case of the ruined monastery at the north of Koh-i-Pahlavan and excavated, under my instructions, by M. Jacques Meunié. This foundation has been altered and enlarged on many occasions and the original plan of the buildings was therefore a good deal confused. The older parts, which themselves had been altered, seem to consist of a cloister round a quadrangular court and a stûpa of large size erected in the court which communicated on its eastern side with another court. The buildings attached have been cleared towards the south and

south-west. The great stûpa was decorated with statues in high relief and with scenes with figures (bas-relief). The workmen seem to have been employed on the spot in carving the shale, a roughly shaped carving and an unfinished bas-relief having been brought to light. Clay models and plaster fragments were also found. Several pieces appeared in position and undamaged; this was the case of an interesting bas-relief showing the Buddha worshipped by Brahman anchorites, their disciples and devatas; the Brahman anchorites may be the three Kasyapa brothers with three of their disciples. On the same bas-relief were shown a couple bringing gifts, the man's costume being that which was ordinarily worn during the Kusana period. M. Meunié also excavated a fragment of a stele on which was a donator attired in the ancient style. The number of statues and bas-reliefs brought to light is considerable. Several of the bas-reliefs show compositions which are of undoubted interest from the iconographical point of view. We may mention particularly a plinth, the central subject of which is a Maitreya seated cross-legged under the pediment with flat top, with two small figures shown down to the waist doing homage under the sloping parts of the pediment. The other figures, Princes or Bodhisattvas, occupy recesses on each side of the pediment; at the ends of the composition appear dvarapalas. If this bas-relief is compared with a Chinese work of the Wei epoch (about the sixth century A.D.) it will re realised to what an extent the Buddhist art of China of this epoch was inspired by the productions of Greco-Buddhist sculpture. A stone showing some scenes preceding the meeting of the young Brahman student Megha with the Buddha Dipankara and the appearance of a

squat Dipankara with enormous hands, furnishes a striking example of the decadent character of certain Greek-Buddhist works as contrasted with the elegance and grace of the statues and paintings of the Irano-Indian school of the sixth and seventh centuries.

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"The chance of discovery in the little valley of Fondukistan, two miles and a half to the south of Siyahgird, about half way between Kabul and Bamiyan, of some fragments of Buddhist statuettes, of which I gave an account in the *Revue des Arts Asiatiques*, encouraged me to make a reconnaissance of the site (September 1936). Having ascertained its importance, I secured permission to dig there, as the result of a report addressed to H.R.H. the Sirdar M. Naim Khan, Minister of Public Instruction in Afghanistan. By the end of May 1937 I had made sufficient progress to think of sending our collaborator, M. Jean Carl, to Fondukistan, the main part of the clearing at Begram having been completed. The ruined buildings in question which were to be cleared were at the top of a mound of earth dominating the little valley; they formed a Buddhist monastery. The digging which was undertaken by M. Jean Carl from the end of May to August 1937 was mainly concerned with the sanctuary; this was a great hall more or less square in shape, and the waggon-vaulted roof had fallen, blocking the openings of deep recesses made in the walls. The centre of the building is occupied by a stûpa of classic type. The recesses, waggon-vaulted, were decorated in front with foliated scroll edges in the shape of single arches supported by pillars. Mural paintings decorated the

walls, the back of the recess and the area between the pilasters, and the opening of the recess. M. Jean Carl succeeded in taking down one of these paintings showing a maitreya with the blue lotus (utpala), holding the flask. This work, with its rather finical beauty, is representative of the tendencies to be found in the Buddhist art of India of the sixth and seventh centuries of the Christian era and through which we are led to the sources of inspiration of the Buddhist art of Tibet. Others of the Fondukistan paintings show definite traces of Iranian influence and suggest that this site of ours was one of the portals to central Asia. The moon god and his companion the sun god show an aspect clearly foreign to India of the art of Fondukistan; the moon god with pallid face is haloed by the disc and crescent of the moon; he wears the diadem with three floreted crescents, heavy round ear-rings set with pearls, the long tight tunic with two lapels, boots of skin (? tiger skin), and carries a broad sword with a long straight handle, held close to the hilt, and a small round shield. The sun god, whose face is broken, has a red disc as a halo and wears armour consisting of a breastplate of sheets of metal prolonged below the waist by a coat of rather loose mail, the lower part of a garment ending in a circular apron covering the thighs; the figure is booted, holds a sort of mace, and the left hand holds a sword with decorated sheath and a long handle. These two divinities appear on the side wall to the right of the divinity at the bottom of the recess, K. The inner decoration of the recesses shows that a unitary programme has been employed in which paintings and sculpture do not play a separate part; one passes from one to the other by very closely graded transitions;

here and there on the walls, shown from the waist up, are devatas with slender bodies or nagakings emerge from the ground, also shown from the waist up (Recess D); elsewhere figures represented in slight relief are scarcely different from those painted on the wall. A Bodhisattva seated in the careless posture of royal ease is very like certain Bodhisattvas of T'ien-Lung Chan (China). On the right side wall of a recess (C) appears a woman lying down close to a triangular screen of conventionalised flames; this is no doubt the mother of Jyotiska, the child miraculously saved from the flames by the Buddha. At the bottom of the recess (E) appear a pair of lay people; a princely figure is seated in a position which very closely reminds one of the attitude of a royal personage shown in a piece of Sassanid goldsmith's work illustrated by Professor Sarre. The princely personage leans his elbow on a pile of cushions. The costume of the Fondukistan prince strikingly resembles the fashions of central Asia and Iran, the long tunic with lapels very closely fitting and decorated with great medallions with edges set with pearls, in which are shown motifs which have almost disappeared (birds? human faces?), boots slightly pointed. The female figure, wearing elaborate dress, appears, with attractive and full bodily form, to be clearly Indian. Under the statues were found cinerary urns which, apart from ashes, contained coins, namely a drachma with the effigy of the Sassanid Chosroës II (A.D. 590-627) and some copper coins of the Napki type (fifth and sixth centuries).

"The interest of these discoveries lies in the fact that we have here specimens of a late Buddhist art (seventh century A.D.) in which the influence of Iran

seems to be already on the wane while an increase in the influence of India is to be noted.

Our discoveries bear a resemblance in style as well as technique (clay modelling with the addition of chopped-up straw, string, wool, etc.) to the paintings and sculptures of central Asia, as known to us by the Grünwedel, von Le Coq, Oldenburg, Otani, Pelliot and Stein Missions. Fondukistan probably represents the southern limit of this particular aspect of Buddhist art."

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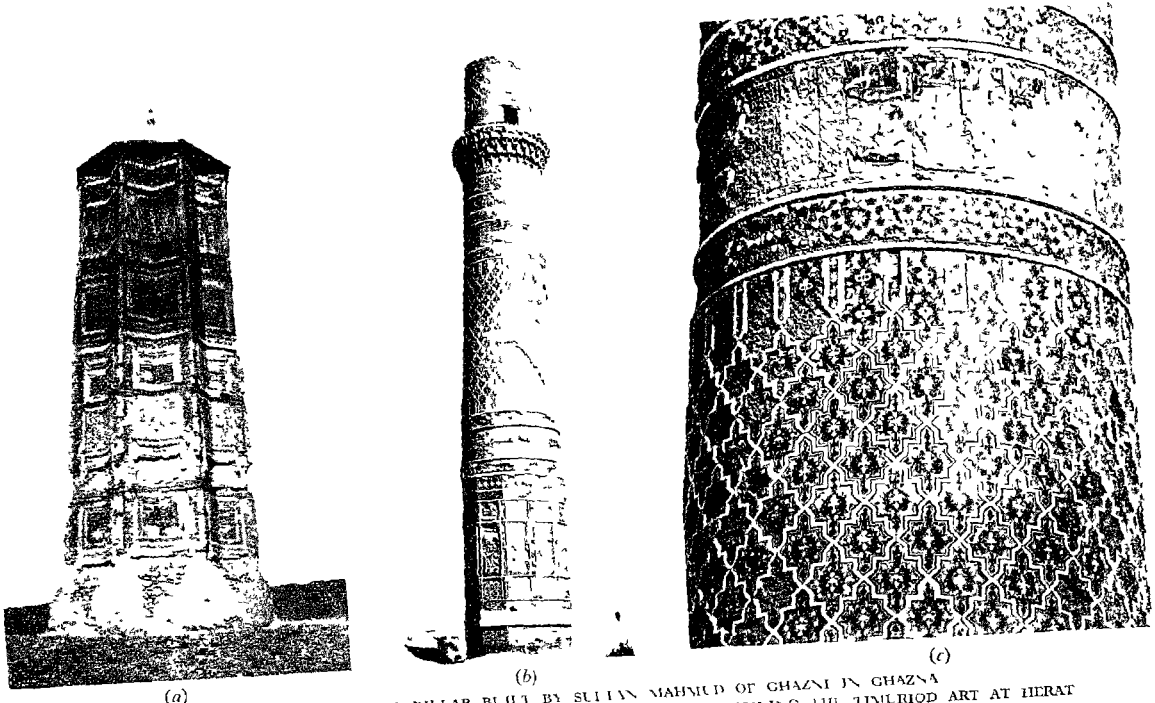
Continuing to describe his researches, M. Hackin dealt with Bāmiyān finds in the following manner:—

"Bāmiyān was one of the first sites to attract the attention of M. Foucher on his arrival in Afghanistan. The Report of the head of the French Delegation written in 1922 was the starting-point of a whole series of methodical researches carried out in 1923 by M. and Mme. Godard. I myself made a preliminary study of the grottoes and their paintings in 1924. This work was resumed in 1930, when there was attached to our Delegation an architect, M. Jean Carl, and an expert in the study of clay casting, M. Bacquet. The results of our efforts have been published in two books. The first, issued in 1928, was entitled *Les Antiquités bouddhiques de Bāmiyān;* the second, in 1933, is called *Nouvelles Recherches archéologiques à Bāmiyān.* Lastly, M. Carl and I were able in the present year to visit several groups of grottoes which were very difficult of approach, and represent a kind of missing link between the primitive grottoes situated near the Buddha 35 metres high, and the sanctuaries, which are more



(a) (b) (c)

(a) AN ANCIENT PILLAR BUILT BY SULTAN MAHMUD OF GHAZNI IN GHAZNA
(b) and (c) THE ONE IS A MINARET AND THE OTHER ITS DETAILS SHOWING THE TIMURIOD ART AT HERAT

elaborately decorated and encircle the Buddha 53 metres high.

"These two gigantic statues chiselled out of the group of rocks which mark the northern edge of the valley are the most striking, though I cannot call them the most interesting, of the Buddhist remains at Bāmiyān.

"The famous Chinese pilgrim Hsüan-tsang, who visited Bāmiyān in A.D. 632, devoted several pages of his journal to this famous site, and to its main attractions—viz., the two Buddhas. It will hardly surprise you if, having mentioned them to you, I only make passing reference to them in what follows, and rather devote attention to the rock-hewn annexes, sanctuaries, assembly-halls and cells. A visit to them will provide a study of the different stages of Buddhist art in Bāmiyān. In fact, a methodical examination of the site enables us, in spite of a certain disorder, which fortunately is only apparent, to distinguish the men and the circumstances which combined to confuse the original sequence of the sanctuaries, their inter-grouping, the variety of style, the fresh contributions to our stock of information, and the characteristic evolution of certain of the decorative themes.

"Accordingly, our study will cause us to abandon in our account any chronological order in our researches. Our attention is drawn in the first place to those features which are the most ancient and the simplest from the architectural and decorative point of view. These will be found in the immediate vicinity of the Buddha 35 metres high, and were laid bare to us as the result of excavations that were carried out in the subsided area situated at the foot of the great cliff. The sanctuary of

the primitive type is represented by the grotto G, which was cleared in June 1930. It is a square chamber surmounted by a cupola.

"All the sanctuaries in the area where subsidence has occurred appear to belong to this type. We may note that the angle-ribs are fixed into the cupola itself, and do not end in a tambour as in the case of the grottoes of more advanced type which we shall meet with when studying the sanctuaries connected with the 35-metres Buddha. Grotto G, with its very simple architectural features, was originally covered with paintings which included Buddhas, Bodhisattvas and benefactors. They were executed in high relief. These polychrome figures only served the function of coloured decoration, the whole-surface paintings and statues cut in high-relief giving the impression of complete unity of style. The statues, made simply of moulded clay, were attached to the walls of the grotto by wooden dowels. The cornice was ornamented with a frieze of small seated Buddhas, miniatures of delicate workmanship. In the course of our excavations we found no trace of foliage mouldings or of arcatures, either simple or trilobate, which ornament some of the grottoes (F, for example) in the great cliff. The Buddhas and Bodhisattvas in grotto G display Indo-Greek style, both by the way the monastic mantle is draped and by the treatment of the hair. Two figures, the one a donor dressed in a long tunic with double lapels, the other a Vajrapāni waving a fly-flap, disclose the intrusion of fresh influences, the development and expansion of which we will trace further.

"The simple architectural and decorative style is subject to two modifications: the first will be met in the A group of grottoes reached by means of the steps

which give access to the gallery round the head of the 35-metres Buddha. One of the grottoes of this group, an assembly hall, shows an architectural scheme like that of grotto G, but a tambour is inserted between the square plan and the dome, and it is in this tambour that have been arranged the corner ribs that mark the transition from the square plan of the hall to the circular dome. The second variation from style I is provided in a grotto of group J, visited for the first time this year. Here the dome is much flattened, and projects considerably beyond the tambour. In our opinion grotto G, with its primitive form, must have been designed in the early years of the third century A.D., before the prevalence of Sasanian influences, which were to play a decisive part in the formation of the Irano-Buddhistic complex that is the most interesting feature of the art of Bāmiyān. In the course of the excavations (June 1930), manuscripts written on bark were recovered, furnishing specimens of different kinds of writing in use in Central Asia between the third and eighth century A.D. These documents have been studied and published by M. Sylvain Lévi.

"In group A is found a second type of architecture, characterized by a peculiar form of ceiling made up of an assemblage of imitation beams arranged in the form of a corbeltable. The craftsmen of Bāmiyān apparently borrowed the arrangement from countries in the immediate vicinity of the Pamirs—Wakhan and the north of Kafiristan (the present Nuristan), where this type of construction is still used. The assembly hall in the upper story in group A furnishes a good example of this type of ceiling which is found again in a more developed form, loaded with a superfluity of decoration,

near the 53-metres Buddha (grotto V). Ascending the steps which end by the head of the 35-metres Buddhá, and passing along the ambulatory gallery and descending again towards the outer wall of the niche by a flight of steps, two more groups of grottoes (C and D) are reached. Group C, containing a porch, an assembly hall, and a sanctuary, shows an element of transition, being composed partly of paintings and partly of mouldings. The dome of the sanctuary is ornamented with a procession of Buddhas, three-fourths full figure, with aureoles about them. The same kind of decoration is found at Sim-Sim in Central Asia. The paintings at Bāmiyān are clearly of earlier date than those at Sim-Sim. The dome of the assembly hall is ornamented with arcatures in low relief, surmounted by the waving ribbons so dear to Sasanian art. These arcatures sheltered moulded figures in bold relief and polychrome.

"It is in group D, situated below group G, that we find, for the first time, an ensemble that is all of classical Sasanian type. The ceiling of the porch of group D is ornamented by a whole series of painted medallions embodying Sasanian motifs. Here we have the head of a boar, crude in treatment, but powerful in style. We find this motif at the Taq-i-Bustan, near Kermanshāh, where it decorates the dress of a hunter who is following in a boat some boars that are taking cover in a reedy marsh (right side wall of the grotto, figure behind the first boat). The same motif was found at Damghan by Dr. E. F. Schmidt in 1931. There it is a plaster moulding in bas-relief in a medallion ornamented with petals, but the characteristics of style are the same as at Bāmiyān. We may note that Sir Aurel Stein has found the same iconographic motif at a site (Astana) near Turfan,

where the style so marked at Bāmiyān is further emphasized.

"The ceiling of the same porch (D) reveals other motifs of Sasanian inspiration: the winged horse; the pigeons with back to back and heads turned towards each other, holding a necklace of pearls in their beaks. We find the same motif on a bas-relief at the Avantipur temple in Kashmir, giving us a fair idea of the route followed by these Sasanian influences. In the sanctuary of this group (D) is the original ceiling, the decoration of which is very interesting as it includes bearded heads of a strongly marked Iranian type. For the first time, moreover, we see a belt of trilobate arcatures, decorated with foliage motifs, and, by way of connecting links, grinning masks partaking of the nature of Gorgons and of the Indian Kirti-mukha, Bāmiyān probably acting the part of intermediary between these two types. Group D, as we see, reveals new tendencies; the influence of Persia under the Sasanians becomes decisively evident. To this period are assignable the figures that decorate the top of the niche of the 35-metres Buddha —the male lunar deity which is seen at the head of the arch, the donors who surround it and a Bodhisattva in grotto E. The type of coiffure of several of these persons is classical Sasanian (fourth to beginning of fifth century). Associated more or less with these purely Sasanian influences are certain fresh elements shown by a Kusano-Sasanian complex which we find both at Bāmiyān and at Kakrak. This Kusano-Sasanian complex is the result of certain local modifications that have been introduced from time to time in the Buddhist iconography of Sasanian character to which we have just referred.

"These modifications specially concern the dress and the coiffure. It is the art that prevailed under the kinglets of Bāmiyān whom Hsüan-tsang described as like Tokharas. Those kinglets, no doubt relatives or clients of the Kusanas, were none the less subject to the influence of their powerful neighbours, the Sasanian kings of Persia, or of their viceroys, the Kushan-Shāhs. One of these vassal princes is seen at Kakrak—the 'Hunter-king' we discovered in 1930, at present in the Kābul museum. The prince wears a peculiar head-dress composed of three golden crescents surmounted by white discs or flower ornaments. This kind of crown is specially associated with the iconography of Bāmiyān. We never find it on the various Sasanian types of coin; it only appears, so far as we know, on two coins of Kusano-Sasanian type coming from Ghāzni.

"It is particularly interesting to note that this peculiar diadem, originally the attribute of a local king, becomes the headdress of a Buddha and of a Bodhisattva (probably Maitreya) enthroned at the apex of the arched roof of a grotto in group K, first visited in August of this year (Fig. 2). The Buddha with a diadem of three crescents crowned by flower ornaments appears in the left-hand side wall of the niche of the 53-metres Buddha. The Bodhisattva of group K adorned with this kind of diadem shows the origin of an iconographic type we meet with in China (stele of the Pei-lin of Si Ngan-fou, dated A.D. 742) and in Japan. I have good ground for believing that these iconographic types were, at least partially, transmitted by way of Kashmir. The ancient art of Kashmir is not without examples of deities with their headdress adorned with the long

flowing ribbons characteristic of Sasanian art, and I have seen at Avantipur even a divinity with a diadem with three crescents.

"Thus the iconography of Bāmiyān has disclosed three main tendencies: the earliest faithfully represents Indo-Greek influences; the next is Sasanian; and then follows a Kusano-Sasanian phase that has given birth to types we find in the Buddhist art of China and Japan. Let me hasten to add that in its decorative details the Kusano-Sasanian complex does not forgo purely Sasanian motifs. The 'Hunter-king' at Kakrak sits on his throne beneath a pediment with blunted angles (*fronton coupé*) that rests upon columns, the shafts of which are draped with ribbons, in all respects similar to those that support the fire altars on the reverse of coins of the Sasanian kings.

"Besides, we notice crowns ornamented with ribbons, like those borne by the winged personifications of victory of the Taq-i-Bustan. Many other details show the persistence of Sasanian influence. Can it be said to dominate the art of Bāmiyān? I think not; and we shall soon note the appearance of fresh elements, the origin of which I do not hesitate to specify: they are elements borrowed from the Near East—from Roman Syria. The sanctuary of group D (fifth century A.D.) reveals new decorative elements—a belt of arcatures, foliage ornamentation, grotesque masks doing the duty of connecting pieces. This kind of ornamentation becomes considerably developed in the grottoes I, II, XI, adjoining the 53-metres Buddha (sixth century A.D.): for the single belts of arcatures (grottoes D and F) double belts of arcatures are substituted. The foliage themes, of considerable width, closely approach

models derived from Eastern Hellenism. The arcatures are surmounted by the 'jug of superfluity', with two waving ribbons beneath—the only Sasanian element in the decoration. The top of the dome of grotto XI is ornamented in a peculiar way, with incomplete stars which are hexagons enclosing Buddhistic figures. In the highest point of the star, shaped like a lozenge, is a beardless head with a conical cap. A similiar scheme of hexagons and lozenges with figures inside decorates the ceiling of the gallery of the temple of Bacchus at Baalbek in Syria (*circa* first century A.D.). I do not know whether this motif, borrowed by Bāmiyān from the Near East, has had the same fortune as the iconographic themes carried from Bāmiyān to the Far East, such as the Bodhisattva with the diadem with three crescents bedecked with flowers.

Still, Greco-Indian, Iranian, and Near East influences do not exhaust the list, for I have reserved as 'last but not least' those Indian influences which, to my mind, stand apart from those which I have endeavoured to show represent a logically ordered development.

"At the head of the arch of the niche sheltering the 53-metres Buddha are observed some seated Bodhisattvas, badly mutilated, in a listless yet elegant posture. The physical type is Indian, from the facial characteristics as well as the limbs, which are long and lithe. Here and there, facing and bending towards the Buddhas, there appear female figures, naked or almost so, of great elegance of form, with full hips, small waist, and developed breasts, that almost make one feel as if one were looking at one of the bas-reliefs of Amaravati. These compositions, so purely and unexceptionally

Indian by reason of the contrast, throw into strong relief the severe side of the Irano-Buddhistic art of Bāmiyān. The paintings that decorate the crown of the niche of the 53-metres Buddha must, in my opinion, have been the work of artists directly influenced by the traditions of the great art of India. They stand quite apart from the hieratic art of Bāmiyān developed under Iranian influence, which recalls certain features of Byzantine art. Examine for choice this Bodhisattva in the sanctuary of group E (Fig. 1); the harsh and cold conception contrasts greatly with the soft and warm humanity of the figures you have just seen.

"It remains to explain how these paintings of Indian inspiration, earlier, in my opinion, than the compositions showing Sasanian influence, came to adorn the niche of the later of the two great Buddhas, the 35-metres Buddha being clearly of earlier date than that of 53 metres. May I suggest an explanation—namely, that the paintings which at present ornament the top of the niche sheltering the 35-metres Buddha constitute a later piece of decoration which was substituted for a previous composition in the style seen at the top of the niche of the 53-metres Buddha.

"The medallions on the projections from the trilobate niche of the 53-metres Buddha are differentiated from the compositions we have just referred to as showing Indian influences: here and there we notice details of Sasanian inspiration, such as pearl-trimmings, waving ribbons, etc. The medallions on the right-hand projection are known already. Each projection originally held a series of five medallions, four being still partially visible from both sides. The medallions on the left-

hand projection were first photographed with a telephoto camera in August last. The first medallion is the most important. In it are three figures, the central of which wears a long tunic of dark colour, tightened in by a belt at the waist; a cloak covers the shoulder; high boots of leopard skin protect the legs, leaving heel and toes exposed. Such leopard-skin moccasins are frequently to be seen on Central Asian documents from Bäzäklik and Tun-huang. This central figure holds in the right hand a kind of purse, also made of leopard skin. The attendant on the right holds a trident; he wears a fur cap. The attendant on the left is dressed in a yellow tunic; he carries a tray of offerings. The aspect of this composition is very 'Central Asian'; in fact, Bāmiyān now belongs to Central Asia. Crossing the Shibar Pass, we leave the basin of the Indus to enter that of the Amu Darya. Bāmiyān knows no stucco nor schist. The stuccoes that have made the reputation of the workshop of Hadda, the schist so abundant at Kapisa (Begram and Paitava), are not to be found at Bāmiyān; the method used in moulding the statues consists in mixing clay and chopped straw up in a framework of wood, a procedure followed in Central Asia. The mural paintings are clearly in the style of Central Asia, in no way recalling the timid essays of Hadda. In fact, Bāmiyān represents an important stage in Buddhism: the influence of Sasanian Iran has been so strong there that we shall see a new form of Buddhist art appearing, so much so that it is not an exaggeration to describe it as the Irano-Buddhistic art of Bāmiyān.

"I have tried to distinguish the characteristics of this complex, while showing you round the principal

sanctuaries of Bāmiyān. To complete my theme it would be necessary to follow up, in your company, through Central Asia the trail of this Irano-Buddhist complex that originated at Bāmiyān; but this would be taking an unfair advantage of your kindness, for the inquiry would not stop there: the few references I have made to Sasanian survivals in the Buddhist art of China and Japan will have made it clear that the investigation would carry us on to the most distant domains of Buddhism; it would mean abusing the indulgence you have so generously accorded me. I would rather let the threat of a second lecture hang over you."

LAW AND JUSTICE

The Civil and Criminal Law is based on the Shariat. Justice is administered in a supreme court (Mahkamah-i-Tamiz) at Kabul, 19 courts of appeal (Mahkamah-i-Murafiah) at provincial centres, and 106 courts of the first instance (Mahkamah-i-Ibtidiah) at the headquarters of prefectures. The consultative assemblies of districts and provinces, as well as tribal arbitration committees (*Jirgah*), exercise certain judicial functions under the law. Minor breaches of law are disposed of summarily by police courts from whose decisions appeal lies to the Governor. Disputes involving persons on different sides of the frontier are settled by periodic joint commissions consisting of representatives of the two powers concerned.

Permanent boards of commercial arbitration sit at provincial centres and at the capital to deal with disputes of a commercial nature.

POOR RELIEF

There is much private charity; the family and tribal organization, in a great measure, obviate the need of national measures for dealing with pauperism. In urban areas, mendicancy has been stopped and workhouses and orphanages opened. Free hospitals and dispensaries are installed at the headquarters of all provinces and districts, and a mental hospital at Kabul is maintained by Government. A tubercular sanatorium has been donated to the nation by the King.

FINANCE

The revenue of Afghanistan is derived from stamp duty, seigniorage, a tax on animals, land tax and customs, in increasing order of importance. Customs provide half of the total income. The land tax, which comes next in importance, was calculated on the basis of one-tenth to one-fifth of the produce, according to the means of irrigation, but now comes to much less on account of the rise in prices. Notwithstanding the heavy cost of reconstruction, Afghanistan for the last two years has been showing a small surplus, which is being utilised to build up a currency reserve.

The country had no National Debt previous to the ex-King's visit to Europe. His lavish expenditure there led him to raise a loan in Germany. Most of the purchases made by him for the Government were also on credit. Arrangements have now been made to repay the debt in eight annual instalments.

DEFENCE

As Afghanistan is an inland country, the national defence forces consist of the army. According to the law, it is recruited partly by annual calls to the Colours and partly on a voluntary basis. Voluntary enlistment is life-long. Compulsory service is for two years with the Colours and another eight in the service, after which the liability for military service is in cases of national emergency only. The duration of military obligation is from the age of 18 to that of 60.

Officers are recruited for life.

The peace strength of the army is 70,000, which is fairly well equipped. In the event of war, besides the trained reserve, it would be supported by a considerable number of warlike tribesmen armed with modern rifles. For defensive warfare, the nation can command the services of all the adult population. The army is being reorganized. Mechanical transport has been introduced. A military academy for the training of cadets has been opened at Kabul, while signal, infantry, cavalry and artillery training schools have been started at Kabul, Jellalabad, Kandahar, Herat and Mazar for the instruction of officers and N.C.O.s in service. Much attention is paid to sports and welfare work among the soldiers.

There is also a small air force manned by Afghans trained in Europe.

PRODUCTION AND INDUSTRY

Afghanistan is one of the richest countries in Asia as regards natural resources, but they are as yet undeveloped.

Agriculture.

The greater part of the country is more or less mountainous, its climate is subject to extremes of heat and cold, the rainfall is scanty. Hence a large area is too dry and rocky for successful cultivation. However, there are many fertile plains and valleys in which the soil is very rich and, if irrigated, yields a splendid harvest. With the help of irrigation from springs, wells, mountain streams, canals and underground channels (karez) abundant crops of fruit, vegetables, cereals and oil seeds are produced. Dry farming of wheat and barley is also practised. The castor oil plant, madder and asafœtida plant abound. Melons and fruit, viz., apple, pear, almond, peach, quince, apricot, plum, cherry, prunes, walnut, pomegranate, grape, fig, mulberry, etc., of excellent quality are produced in great profusion. They form an important article of food of all classes of people throughout the year, both in the fresh and dried state, and are exported in large quantities. Cotton, sugar-cane and citrus fruit are grown in the warmer tracts and their cultivation as well as that of sugar-beet is being encouraged. The chief cereal crops are wheat, maize, barley, rice, lentil, beans and peas. The hay and potato crops are also valuable.

Several large irrigation works are under construction for the storage of water and irrigation of dry lands.

Stock Raising.

Sheep rearing all over the country and horse breeding in the north are important occupations. The fat-tailed sheep is native to the country. These sheep

furnish the principal meat diet of the inhabitants. The fat of the tail serves as a substitute for butter. The wool and skins not only provide material for warm apparel, but also furnish the country's main article of export. Butter, cheese and dried curd (Karut) is made of sheep's milk. Large flocks of Qaraquli sheep are kept for the sake of the valuable astrakhan fur which is an important article of export.

The Qatghan breed of horses is justly famed for endurance. Camels, ponies, asses and yaks serve as pack animals.

A model dairy, an Institute of Animal Husbandry, and several model farms have been opened by Government for the improvement of agricultural methods.

Sericulture.

Silkworm rearing is carried on in the neighbourhood of Herat, Laghman and Kabul. The silk is used in the local looms and exported to Persia and Central Asia. A sericulture institute has been started at Kabul recently.

Forestry.

Though indiscriminate cutting in the past is responsible for deforestation of much of the hillside, yet valuable forests of cedar and pinewood, wild olive, dwarf oak, beech, wild almond, juniper and pistachio nut trees, exist on the slopes of Spinghar and Hindu Kush.

The chief forest products that are exported are timber, pistachio nuts, and resin. Fur-bearing animals are trapped especially on the northern slopes of the Hindu Kush.

Mining.

The mineral wealth of the country is very great, but has not yet been properly exploited. Coal and iron are found in many parts of the country. Coal is mined in Ghorband and Talah Barfak. Iron is smelted in Qatghan and Parmal. Gold is found near Qandhar and in the sands of many streams in Qatghan, Laghman and Kunar. Silver mines exist in Panjsher valley. Copper, lead, manganese and nickel deposits occur in the spurs of the Hindu Kush. Natural sulphur and graphite are found in Hazarahjat, while valuable salt mines exist in Qatghan. Crude petroleum has been discovered near Herat. Other minerals of commercial value are asbestos, mica and gypsum, which occur widely.

Rubies and amethyst mines are situated at Jagidilik and Qandhar respectively, while the lapis-lazuli of northern Afghanistan is the finest in the world.

White and coloured marbles of rare beauty occur at many places, but difficulty of transport stands in the way of their utilization. Oil has been found, and an American syndicate is working that monopoly.

Industry.

At Kabul there are factories for the manufacture of leather, boots, matches, buttons, woollen cloth, soap, hosiery, etc. The (Machine Khanah) Government Ordinance Works and Mint is also situated there. A cotton ginning mill exists at Balkh. Woollen bale presses are being erected at Kandahar, while a cotton spinning mill is under erection at Jabl-us-Siraj. Large tan yards exist at Charikar. Jabl-us-Siraj, Kabul and

Herat are centres of a considerable hand-loom industry. Carpet making is a cottage industry and furnishes an important article of internal trade and export.

There is a hydro-electric plant at Jabl-us-Siraj, which supplies electricity to the capital; two more are under construction.

COMMERCE

The chief exports are lambskins, wool, fruit, both fresh and dried, carpets and rugs, timber, asafœtida, postins, furs, grain, pulse and hides.

The chief imports are cotton goods, indigo, dyes, sugar, tea, iron and other metals, hardware, mineral oil, petrol, machinery, motor vehicles, arms, electrical goods, cotton yarns and haberdashery.

The chief centres of trade are Kabul, Qandhar, Herat, Andkhui, Mazar, Ghazni and Khanabad.

CUSTOM REGULATIONS

(THE KING'S ORDER)

IN order to provide facilities in the task of custom officials and having regard for the welfare of our faithful subjects and the nation at large the various customs duties hitherto exacted under the headings of: bales, weight, *ad valorem*, number, skin, piece, and various other ambiguous names such as one-sixtieth, one-fortieth one-tenth, brokerage, ancient, modern, ear brand, ten shahi per cent., agent's charges, gold charges, half brandage, whip charges, lamp charges, safe arrival, guide's charges, royalty, lodging, undertaking, hundred dinar, twopence, royal treasury, passage, ordinary,

Qadir khani, weighing charges, one-twentieth, Kafila bashi, woman and man slave charges, etc., etc., on all exports and imports at every custom office separately are hereby collected and summed up into a consistent whole and subsequently systematically classified.

The duty on some articles and commodities of luxury, the import of which, bestow no benefit but wholly results in loss and injury to our beloved country, are enhanced so that by degrees their import and introduction into the sacred soil of Afghanistan may thereby be checked and their use, which is fraught with danger totally abandoned and the Government as well as the nation avoid their invisible injuries. On the other hand, the duties on those articles and commodities, which are considered beneficial to the interests of the nation, are reduced and the system of *ad valorem* has been adopted by which the custom duty on every item may be exacted, by percentage, on its face value.

A merchant, who in accordance with the prescribed tariff laws, has once paid the fixed amount of duty on a certain commodity at any custom office shall be free to take and send his merchandise to any part within or outside Afghanistan. The directors of customs and the frontier custom officials are only to examine his documents and in no way interfere or retard his progress for the sake of custom duties.

CHAPTER I

Custom Duties

This chapter contains the following sections. Custom duties are levied on four different occasions.

They are levied on:—

1. Imports.
2. Exports.
3. Goods in Transit.
4. Internal consumption.

SECTION I

IMPORTS

1. All the products and goods entering Afghanistan from abroad (by any route and of any origin) shall be considered imports. The custom duties on imports are further divided into three divisions.

DIVISION I

2. Henceforth we abolish the duty previously levied on the Holy Koran and other Muslim religious books. Moreover, no duty shall be charged on rifles, pistols and their ammunition, so that anyone who wishes to bring them into Afghanistan may be free to do so. The articles and goods pertaining to sports such as football, tennis, golf, polo and billiards, etc., shall be free of duty from the beginning of the current year till the end of the year 1310 or the middle of the year 1931 A.D.

DIVISION II

3. The customs duties on all those articles and goods, which His Majesty considers to be a source of injury to the interests of the nation and a means of lowering their morals, are enhanced with a view to put a stop to their import and use in the country.

4. The custom duty on the following goods shall be charged at the rate of 50 per cent. *ad valorem*: shirts, ladies' gowns made of silk or cotton and ladies' overalls.

5. All kinds of laces meant for ladies' gowns, ladies' collars, artificial hair, belts used and required for ladies' gowns whether made of silk, cotton or any other fibre, ladies' overcoats and capes made of silk, velvet or any other fibre.

6. Brocades worked with gold or silver thread and all other kinds of brocades from Gujrat and Russia.

7. Woollen hand-woven Kashmere shawls of any kind and grade, blankets, turbans, various sorts of wall paper.

8. Various sorts of boxes of Japanese lacquer work, of pewter or plated with gold or silver, polished Chinese tables, raw cotton.

DIVISION III

9. Previously the custom duty on those articles and goods, whose existence is necessary, for providing the needs of the people was, on account of lack of systematic tariff laws, very high but henceforth they are divided into nine classes, each bearing a fixed custom duty as follows:—

Class I

Liable to Duty at 30 per cent. *ad valorem.*

10. Gents' and ladies' boots and shoes. Gents' and ladies' slippers, worked on top wholly or partly with silver thread, from Peshawar, provided their toes are pointed.

11. Coffee, cacao, sweetmeats and confectionery. Cotton and silk underwear, neck ties. Poppy seed. Honey.

12. All sorts of towels and handkerchiefs made of silk, cotton, rayon, etc. Toilet requisites. Bathing requisites. Artificial pearls. Various sorts of artificial flowers. Carafe with or without carrier. Very small concave looking glasses.

Class II

Liable to Duty at 25 per cent. *ad valorem.*

13. White refined sugar from Cawnpore and Russia. Refined sugar cubes.

Class III

Liable to Duty at 20 per cent. *ad valorem.*

14. White granulated sugar. Loaf sugar. Unrefined raw sugar. White longcloth. Unbleached cotton piece-goods. Muslin all sorts not otherwise specified. Chintz of any colour and grade. Artificial silk cloth. Crepe. Khaki drill. Gauze. Paj all sorts and grades. Silk embroidered goods and all other Kashmere piece-goods and cloth wholly or partly made of wool, silk, cotton, linen, or rayon not otherwise specified.

15. Silk twist and yarn of various colours from Amritsar.

16. Cotton twist and yarn, sewing or darning thread. Needles. Thimbles. Cotton lace. Tin boxes of any size and all other articles wholly made of tin. White cotton shirting. Artificial stone and wax pearls, silk or cotton hosiery all sorts. Various kinds of soap not elsewhere specified or included. Copper wire. Combs. Locks. Knives. Scissors, hats, caps, skull caps. Looking glasses of any size and quality and all other haberdashery goods.

17. Riding long boots. Inferior heelless boots of goat skin. Rubber boots or shoes. Saddles and reins. Belts

and other such articles made of leather not otherwise specified.

18. New cotton carpets.

19. Indigo from Multan powdered or in any other form.

20. Porcelain and glass wares such as teapots, cups and saucers. Bowls. Plates of any size. Glasses. Sugar pots. Milk jugs. Transparent, coloured and ground glass panes for doors, windows, etc. All other articles made of china clay and glass not otherwise specified.

21. Chemicals, drugs and medicines pertaining to the Unamni System not otherwise specified. Black pepper and spices.

22. Matches all sorts. Candles small and large. White cotton thread and cotton thread of various other colours. All sorts of paper, paste-board and stationery.

23. Copper sheet and all sorts of articles wholly made of copper, German silver, brass, aluminium and cast-iron.

24. Metals, iron and steel. All sorts of iron bars, sheets black and corrugated, horse-shoes, spikes, spades with or without handle, pickaxes, discs and all other articles made of iron or steel not elsewhere specified or included.

25. Wire nails, bolts, handles, hinges, files, and all other articles of ironmongery not otherwise specified.

26. Hides of buffalo, bullock and all other tanned or untanned leather.

27. Fans made of rush and gunny bags from India. Laundry soaps of all sorts.

28. Kerosene oil lamps all sorts. Pocket lamps with electric batteries, all sorts not otherwise specified.

29. Bangles all sorts not otherwise specified. Tongas

and all other sorts of carriages drawn by horse, etc. Motor cycle. Bicycle. Hand-woven articles from Bokhara and Meshhed such as cloaks, silk embroidered prayer rugs. Bed covers and other quilted cloth used as a coverlet. Tea tray covers. Kalpak (a kind of headwear).

30. Horses, camels, asses, mules, bullocks, and all other live animals not elsewhere specified or included. Feathers of all sorts and grades used for feather beds and pillows.

31. Tea and dyes packed in tins. Table cloths made of silk, wool and cotton of various designs and grades. Handkerchiefs from China. Belts, mufflers and scarves, all sorts. Laces, silk or linen, all sorts. Gold thread, natural or artificial. Pins, all sorts. Hair clips. Knives and forks, all sorts and grades.

32. Porcelain jars and flowerpots, all sorts. Dressing gowns, shawls, ladies' scarves, silk hosiery for ladies and gents. Silk gloves, all sorts. Boot polish. Buttons made of horn or leather, all sorts. Turbans of silk or any other fibre. Hand-woven shawls of any kind and grade from Kashmere. Turbans and blankets from Amritsar not otherwise specified.

33. Vaseline, all sorts. Almerahs. Cuff links, studs and collar buttons, all sorts. Perfumed soaps. Pencils. Silver and gold embroidery on taffetas or other ordinary cotton piece-goods.

34. Furs and skins such as sable, ermine and all other furs not otherwise specified. Chairs made of cane, wood and iron, all sorts.

35. Artificial flowers, all sorts, whether made of satin or paper, etc. Face powders and rouge, all sorts. Albums all sorts. Toys and children's playthings. Thermos

bottles designed for retaining the temperature of water, tea, etc. Photos, charts and maps. Postcards. Stereoscopes. Paper weights, all sorts. Cigarette cases. Biscuits. Gur. Brown sugar. Henna. Hair dyes, all sorts. Drawers made of silk or cotton. Ladies' hats and scarves, all sorts, made of any fibre. Gents' hats and caps, all sorts. Laces. Furs for wearing round the neck or used on hats. Set of chairs and couches with covers of satin and velvet, etc. Photo frames, all sorts and sizes.

36. Silk cloth and taffeta embroidered with gold or silver thread from Benaris. Second-hand or used clothes and boots.

Class IV

Liable to Duty at 15 per cent. *ad valorem.*

37. Beaver-skin.

Class V

Liable to Duty at 10 per cent. *ad valorem.*

38. Cotton tapes and ropes, all sorts. Tents and tent requisites, all sorts. White lead ground in oil. Zinc white. Black Japan. Gum sandarac. Iron wire. Heavy brass wire. Fine shawl wool. Fine woollen blankets from Kashmere, all sorts. Salt.

39. Carpets, rugs, woollen mats. Skins of lynx, stone-marten and fox. Books of science, poetry, literature and novels, etc.

40. Slippers from Peshawar, simple or ornamented with silver thread, provided their toes are not pointed and are of the similar design as approved by the Government.

41. Maps and charts. Photographs, postcard size, showing the important places and sceneries of Afghanistan or other countries.

42. The Afghan Foreign Office has to fix the number of bottles of wine for the yearly consumption of non-Muslims, foreign subjects, such as Afghan Government employees, tourists, Government guests and diplomatic or non-diplomatic members of foreign legations in Afghanistan. The said bottles of wine may be imported after obtaining necessary orders to the effect from the foreign office.

43. Except in the foregoing manner (Item 42) the importation of wine and alcoholic liquor of all kinds into Afghanistan is absolutely prohibited. If any person, openly or secretly, ever commits this act he shall be liable to three years' imprisonment with a fine equivalent to half the price of wine imported by him, and this wine must be destroyed.

Class VI

Liable to Duty at 7½ per cent, *ad valorem.*

44. Mats or all manufactures of palm leaf, rushes and munj from Mohmand territory.

Class VII

Liable to Duty at 5 per cent. *ad valorem.*

45. Brass sheets, sheathing, foil, braziers and plates. Tin, zinc and pewter. Chemicals, drugs and medicines of all sorts pertaining to Western system of medicine Motor cars and lorries, etc. Petrol, oil and grease, all sorts, used and required for such lorries or motors.

Class VIII

Liable to duty at 2 per cent. *ad valorem.*

46. Silk threads of various kinds and grades from Bokhara, Persia and Russia for sale in Afghanistan.

Class IX

Liable to duty at ½ per cent. at their current rate of exchange.

47. Silver bullion. India rupees. Russian roubles. Chinese rupees. Persian rupees. Tangas of Bokhara, Organj and Russia. All sorts of gold coins and broken gold. Gold bullion. Jewels and precious stones.

PROHIBITIONS

48. The importation of charas and opium into Afghanistan is absolutely prohibited. Anyone who brings charas or opium into Afghanistan from abroad shall be liable to a fine equivalent to the price of the stuff imported by him while his imported charas or opium shall be destroyed.

49. Nude and immoral pictures and photographs on postcards, etc. must be destroyed.

SECTION II

EXPORTS

50. All articles and goods wholly or partly manufactured and raw materials exported from Afghanistan come under this heading. They are liable to custom duty as under:—

DIVISION I

The custom duty on exportations from the province of Kabul and the Eastern province are as follows:—

Liable to Duty at 85 per cent. on their current price on spot or before crossing the border.

51. Timber exported from Samarkhel and Chitral.

Liable to Duty at 80 per cent. *ad valorem.*

52. Timber from any other part of Afghanistan.

Liable to Duty at 60 per cent. *ad valorem.*

53. Pomegranate exported from Jalalabad per load of 44 seers (700 lb.) 60 Afghani rupees.

Liable to Duty at 50 per cent. *ad valorem.*

54. Pistachio shelled or with shell. Pine kernels. Asafœtida. Rose and mushrooms.

55. Pomegranate exported from Tagal, per load of 44 seers (700 lb.), 50 Afghani rupees.

Liable to Duty at 40 per cent. *ad valorem.*

56. Cummin-seed and raw wool.

Liable to Duty at 30 per cent. *ad valorem.*

57. Dried apricots, sultanas, almonds, shelled or with shell, shaquaqul, Shibdar seed and all other dried fruits not otherwise specified.

Liable to Duty at 25 per cent. *ad valorem.*

58. Dried raisins, all sorts. Dried Mulberry. Goat and sheep skin, untanned. Hides, all sorts, untanned. Postins (vests, coats or overcoats of sheep skin), Buzghunj and Isfarak.

Liable to Duty at 20 per cent. *ad valorem.*

59. Plantago. Manna, all sorts. Barberry, dried. Fresh grapes in small wooden boxes or in litters. Fresh musk-melon and water-melon. Dried prunes.

Liable to Duty at 15 per cent. *ad valorem.*

60. Apricots. Kernels. Dried marabelle. Tobacco.

Liable to Duty at 10 per cent. *ad valorem.*

61. Carpets and rugs, all sorts. Woollen mats. Opium. Potatoes. Glue. Dried curds. Fox skins. Furs of stone-marten, zibeline, ermine, lynx and skins of wolf, bear, leopard, lion, jackal and karaquli lambs. Shawl wool.

Liable to Duty at 5 per cent. *ad valorem.*

62. Ladies' slippers (Eastern fashion). Guts, bow-string, all sorts. Hand-spun pure silk cloth and hand-kerchiefs. Cotton piece-goods. Textile from the Kabul factory and other parts of Afghanistan. Mill stones.

Liable to Duty at 1 per cent. *ad valorem.*

63. Silk threads and yarn. Balls of cotton thread. Gold and silver thread. Jewels and precious stones, unset.

Ninety-one pools per load.

64. Stone from Mirgi Khel area in the Eastern province.

DIVISION II

Custom duty on articles and goods exported from Kandahar Province to foreign countries:—

Liable to Duty at 80 per cent. *ad valorem.*

65. Water-melon, musk-melon and pomegranate.

Liable to Duty at 50 per cent. *ad valorem.*

66. Pistachio, shelled or with shell. Peach. Quince. Large raisins. Black lentil. Garance. Asafœtida.

Liable to Duty at 45 per cent. *ad valorem.*

67. Buzghunj (Pistachio shell required for dyeing and other chemical purposes).

Liable to Duty at 40 per cent. *ad valorem.*

68. Cumin-seed. Black raisins. Wool, which come from Herat, Pusht-i-Rud and Farrah to Kandahar for export to foreign countries.

Liable to Duty at 35 per cent. *ad valorem.*

69. Abjosh (sultanas).

Liable to Duty at 30 per cent. *ad valorem.*

70. Grapes, all sorts, not otherwise included or specified. Raisins all sorts. Dried apricots, all sorts, not

otherwise specified. Almonds, shelled or with shell. Currants. Dried black graps. Shaqaqul. Jujube. Apples. Pears.

Liable to Duty at 25 per cent. *ad valorem.*

71. Gum tragacanth.

Liable to Duty at 22 per cent. *ad valorem.*

72. Fig and dried marabelle.

Liable to Duty at 20 per cent. *ad valorem.*

73. Plantago. White Bahman. Manna, all sorts. Coriander. Fennel, Tobacco. Black prunes. Barberry. Flower of zareer. Liquorica. Cotton. Quince seed. Plums, fresh and dried. Fresh prunes, all sorts, not otherwise specified.

Liable to Duty at 15 per cent. *ad valorem.*

74. Apricots. Kernels. Postins (vests, coats or overcoats of sheep skin), skins of goat and sheep. Hides, all sorts. Seeds of trefoil and fodder seed.

Liable to Duty at 10 per cent. *ad valorem.*

75. Carpets and rugs, all sorts. Curtains and bags made of carpet. Woollen mats. Felts and felt apparel. Fine feutres. Duvet. Feuille. Fine woollen piece-goods. Turbans made of natural silk. Fur of stone-marten, fox and other skins not otherwise specified. Opium. Violet. Dried curds. Glue. Mushrooms.

Liable to Duty at 5 per cent. *ad valorem.*

76. Gut, bow string, all sorts. Handkerchiefs and silk cloth of all sorts, not otherwise specified. Natural silk-piece-goods. Culotte and caps. Slippers. String of stone beads from Kalat. Sieves. Brooms. Tiny wooden boxes ornamented with looking-glasses. Dried prunes. Pickles of aubergine. Pet nightingales and starlings. Dried large-sized prunes. Wooden spoons all sorts. Anvils. Eggs. Fresh narcissus. Biscuits of

rice flour. Sugar-coated almonds. Fireworks, all sorts, not otherwise specified.

Liable to Duty at 1 per cent. *ad valorem.*

77. Silk thread and yarn. Balls of cotton thread. Natural gold and silver thread.

DIVISION III

78. The custom duty on all the articles and goods exported from the Province of Pusht-i-Rud, Chaghansoor and Herat is exactly the same (provided they are of the same nature) as that which is specified for the exports from the Province of Kandahar.

DIVISION IV

All articles and goods exported from the Provinces of Mazar-i-Sharif, Maimana, Kadaghan and Badakhshan are liable to duty as follows:—

Liable to Duty at 40 per cent. *ad valorem.*

79. Tanned skins, all sorts, not otherwise specified.

Liable to Duty at 30 per cent. *ad valorem.*

80. Sheep. Seasame. Linseed. Linen.

Liable to Duty at 20 per cent. *ad valorem.*

81. Wool. Pomegranate rinds.

Liable to Duty at 15 per cent. *ad valorem.*

82. Skins of sheep and goat. Hides of bullock, cow and camel. Dried raisins, all sorts. Postins (vests, coats and overcoats of sheepskin), all sorts.

Liable to Duty at 10 per cent. *ad valorem.*

83. Skins of fox, stone-marten, tiger, leopard, wolf, bear, jackal, lamb (inferior quality) and sheep. Hides of cow, bullock (inferior quality). Opium. Walnut. Cotton, cleaned and uncleaned.

Liable to Duty at 5 per cent. *ad valorem.*

84. Dried apricot. Young plants all sorts. Onion seed. Poppy rind. Gram. guts. Dried mulberry. Sinjid.

Liable to Duty at 2 per cent. *ad valorem.*

85. Tobacco.

Liable to Duty at 1 per cent. *ad valorem.*

86. Pomegranate.

PROHIBITIONS

87. It is absolutely prohibited to export any of the following live animals, articles and goods to foreign countries:—

(*a*) From the Provinces of Kabul, Kandahar, Herat, Farrah, Pusht-i-Rud and Chaghan-soor:

Horse, mare, sheep. Clarified butter. Cereals. Camel, bullock, cow, mule and ass.

(*b*) From the Provinces of Mazar-i-Sharif, Kadaghan, Badakhshan and Maimana:

Besides the live animals and goods included in the above para (*a*), it is also absolutely prohibited to take out of the country the following articles, namely: Coin, silver. Gold coins and articles of antiquity and museum.

88. If any person, while attempting to act against the contents of the aforesaid item (87), is arrested with the prohibited live animals or goods, the said live animals and goods, their means of transport and his personal arms and ammunition shall be confiscated, sold and the proceeds paid into the Government treasury.

Jewellery and precious stones may be taken out of the country provided their specified duty is duly paid by the owner.

SECTION III

TRANSIT DUTIES

All such articles and goods which enter Afghanisatn only cross her soil without being sold within Afghanistan come under this heading. Their custom duty is specified in the following manner:—

Item No.	Names of Articles	Per	Tariff Values.	Duty.
			Afghani-Pool	Afghani-Pool
89	Tea, all sorts.		*Ad valorem*	25 per cent.
90	With the exception of articles and goods, etc., specified in Items 89, 91, 92, 93, 94 and 95 for all other articles and goods.		*Ad valorem*	10 per cent.
91	Wool, skins of lamb, fox, goat and sheep.		*Ad valorem*	5 per cent.
92	All goods from Persia crossing Afghanistan via Herat and Kandahar.		*Ad valorem*	5 per cent.
93	All goods from India destined for Persia passing via Herat or destined for Yarkand via Chitral and the custom post of Brogheel.		*Ad valorem*	5 per cent.
94	Cotton.		*Ad valorem*	2 per cent.
95	The custom duties charged on articles and goods passing through the custom post at Brogheel are as follows:—			
(*a*)	Natural silk.	Pony load of ten seers (160 lb.)		Afgh. Pool 63–64
(*b*)	Charas, all sorts. White cotton homespun(Kirbas).	Pony load of ten seers (160 lbs.)		9–10

Item No.	Names of Articles.	Per	Tariff Values.	Duty.
			Afghani-Pool	Afghani-Pool
95	(*contd.*)			
(*c*)	Felt and praying rugs.	Pony load of 50 pieces		7-27
(*d*)	Turbans, handkerchiefs and other articles made of silk not otherwise specified.	100 pieces		7-27
	NOTE—Since the above duties are specified on the weight, number and loads of the articles, therefore they should be carefully examined and in case of any difference duty should be charged in proportion.			
	SECTION IV			
	INTERNAL CONSUMPTION DUTIES			
96	Tariff duties on internal consumption rates are charged on such articles and goods as are sold in the cities and custom posts of Afghanistan. Goods that have been bought and sold as exports and on which duty has been paid as such, may be rebought or resold several times without being liable to internal consumption duty. In cases where the owner of a certain article, after paying the internal consumption duty on it, intends to export the same, that article in question shall be liable to export duty and the internal consumption duty already paid on it shall not be refunded.			

Item No.	Names of Articles.	Per	Tariff Values.	Duty.
			Afghani-Pool	Afghani-Pool
96	(*contd.*) Internal consumptions are of two distinct categories.			
	CATEGORY I			
97	It comprises of textile piece-goods manufactured in Afghanistan and sold within the Kingdom. In cases when they are sold locally, no duty shall be charged.			Free
98	If transported for the purposes of trade to any other part of Afghanistan.		*Ad valorem*	
99	If once their duty is paid at one of the custom offices and necessary document obtained, can be freely carried to any part of Afghanistan. The directors of all the custom offices shall only examine and verify the said document and allow it to pass without let or hindrance. But if their owner intends to export them to a foreign country, he shall have to pay the duty prescribed under the head "exports" on them.			
	CATEGORY II			
100	It comprises articles of food and live animals such as clarified butter, wheat, flour, barley, rye and all other cereals; fruits, fresh and dry, of all sorts; live			

Item No.	Names of Articles.	Per	Tariff Values.	Duty.
			Afghani-Pool	Afghani-Pool
100	(*contd.*) sheep, goats, bullocks, cows and horses, etc., which were formerly liable to civil tax under several headings at various custom offices scattered in the villages, as well as in the city. Henceforth we abolish the former custom offices and the so-called civil tax. Their owner can freely take them from one village to another and may sell them locally, free of custom duty.			Free
101	If brought to the city for sale duty shall be charged at the same rate as for goods of home manufacture, viz., 7½ per cent. *ad valorem*. This duty shall be collected at that custom office which happens to be situated in the vicinity of the village.		*Ad valorem*	7½ per cent
102	Henceforth the duty on internal consumptions such as fresh fruits, wood, charcoal and fuel are to be levied per load as specified below:— Corbeil carriers who bring fresh fruits from the suburban gardens into the city are also to pay duty per corbeil in accordance with the rates put down in the following schedule:			

Item No.	Names of Articles.	Per	Tariff Values.	Duty.
			Afghani-Pool	Afghani-Pool
102	(*contd.*)			
	FRESH FRUITS.			
	Sweet cherry.	Donkey load	30–30	2–27
	Sour cherry.	,,	14–15	1– 6
	Apricot, best quality.	,,	19–26	1–43
	Apricot, medium quality.	,,	18–20	1–36
	Apricot, third quality.	,,	9–10	0–67
	Lum (koke sultani).	,,	12–12	0–90
	Apple, all sorts, not otherwise specified.	,,	6–67	0–48
	Apple, tirmahi.	,,	13–65	1– 3
	Pears, all sorts, not otherwise specified.	,,	8–28	0–53
	Peach.	,,	15–15	1–13
	Pear (a'bi and samarkandi).	,,	13–65	1– 3
	Quince.	,,	10–91	0–81
	Prune.	,,	4–91	0–37
	Greengage.	,,	7–88	0–58
	Cucumber (first quality).	,,	22–73	1–71
	Cucumber (second quality)	,,	13–65	1– 3
	Cucumber (third quality).	,,	7–73	0–57
	Grapes, all sorts, not wise specified.	,,	9–10	0–67
	Grapes, Kandahari.	,,	15–15	1–13
	Water melon.	,,	4–39	0–35
	Musk melon.	,,	5–46	0–40
	Pomegranate, without pips.	,,	45–46	3–40
	Pomegranate of Gogamunda and Tashqurghan species, etc.	,,	36–37	2–73
	Pomegranate from Tagab, Istalif and Jalalabad.	,,	15–15	1–13
	Grapes, all sorts, from Baraki.	Corbeil	3–94	0–30
	Apple, all sorts	,,	3– 3	0–22
	Apricot, all sorts, not otherwise specified.	,,	2–27	0–18
	Pear, all sorts.	,,	3– 3	0–22
	Quince.	,,	1–95	0–15
	Apricot, white.	,,	3–94	0–30
	Peach.	,,	3–64	0–27

Item No.	Names of Articles.	Per	Tariff Values.	Duty.
			Afghani-Pool	Afghani-Pool
102	(*contd.*). FRESH FRUITS (*contd.*).			
	Plum, all sorts.	,,	1–82	0–13
	Grapes, all sorts, unripe.	,,	1–82	0–13
	Almond, with shell, unripe.	Donkey load	14–14	1– 6
	Prune.	Corbeil	1–97	0–15
	Almond, with shell, unripe.	,,	1–82	0–13
	Grapes, all sorts, preserved in sun-dried earthen container.	Earthen container	0–37	0– 3
	Grapes, all sorts, preserved in wooden boxes (large size), net weight about 2 lb.	Box	0–60	0– 5
	Grapes, all sorts, preserved in wooden boxes (small size), net weight about ½ lb.	Box	0–10	0– 2
	PALM LEAF MANUFACTURES.			
	Mat, yarn, rope, etc.	Camel load		3–63
	,, ,, ,,	Pony load		1–82
	,, ,, ,,	Donkey load		1–21
	Raw palm leaf.	Camel load		2–73
	,, ,,	Horse or mule load		1–36
	,, ,,	Ass load		0–91
	Charcoal (oak).	Camel load of two sacks		1–36
	,, ,,	Camel load one sack		0–91
	,, ,,	Ass or ox load		0–67
	,, (deodar or cedar).	Camel load		0–91
	,, ,, ,,	Ass or ox load		0–45

Item No.	Names of Articles.	Per	Tariff Values	Duty.
			Afghani-Pool	Afghani-Pool
102	(*contd.*).			
	FIRE WOOD:			
	Fuel, oak or cedar wood.	Camel load		0-60
	,, ,, ,,	Ass or ox load		0-22
	,, ,, ,,	Mule load		0-45
	Fire wood, all sorts, from Kargha (about 6 miles west of Kabul).	Ass load		0-15
	TIMBER FOR CONSTRUCTION WORKS:			
	Sleepers of deodar wood, 13′ 6″ long	Each		0-45
	,, ,, ,, 11′ 8″ ,,	,,		0-40
	,, ,, ,, 10′ 0″ ,,	,,		0-27
	,, ,, ,, 8′ 4″ ,,	,,		0-21
	Sleepers of deodar wood, transported by mules:: 11′ 8″ long	Each		0-35
	Do. do. 10′ 0″ ,,	,,		0-24
	Do. do. 8′ 4″ ,,	,,		0-21
	Boards of deodar wood, all sorts, not otherwise specified.	,,		0-15
	Boards of deodar wood from Jaji (southern Province).	,,		0-10
	Charcoal of oak wood (in small bundles or sacks).	Sack or bundle		0-15
103	If sold within Afghanistan:			
(*a*)	Opium.		*Ad valorem.*	cent. per cent.
(*b*)	Charas and Indian hemp.		*Ad valorem*	50 per cent.
(*c*)	Chewing tobacco (at the custom office in Kabul).		*Ad valorem*	50 per cent.
	Chewing tobacco (at all other custom offices).		*Ad valorem*	20 per cent.
(*d*)	Tobacco (at the custom office in Kabul).		*Ad valorem*	30 per cent.

Item No.	Names of Articles.	Per	Tariff Values.	Duty.
			Afghani-Pool	Afghani-Pool
103	(*contd.*). TIMBER FOR CONSTRUCTION WORKS: (*contd.*). Tobacco (at all other custom offices).		*Ad valorem*	15 per cent.
104	If the above articles are exported (Item 103) they shall be liable to duty specified under Section II			
105	If opium is illicitly exported and seized, it shall only be liable to confiscation and the owner should not be fined. But if anyone carries on an illicit traffic of opium within the Kingdom, his opium should be confiscated, while he himself has to pay a fine equivalent to half the value of the opium. As for Charas, Indian hemp, snuff and tobacco, in all cases, are liable to confiscation only, without any extra fine.			
106	Earthen wares, all sorts.			Free
107	Grain, flour, wheat, rice (husked and unhusked) and salt.			Free

CHAPTER II

THE DUTIES OF DIRECTORS AND OTHER CUSTOM OFFICIALS

108. The directors and all other custom officials, during the tenure of office, should always remember and fear God and execute the duties entrusted to them with the utmost equity and justice. They should never

indulge in any dealings contrary to their honour as Muslims or do anything against the Royal orders.

They should always collect custom duties in a manner which may be not only beneficial to the Public Treasury, but also bear in mind the best interests of the merchants and manufacturers as well.

109. All Government purchases from abroad should be duly entered in the custom schedules and their duties specified therein in the same manner as that of any other imports. How such duty shall not be charged in cash, but shown on both the debit and credit sides.

110. The directors and all other custom officials should abstain from bribery, breach of trust and cheating. If they commit any of these offences they shall be liable to punishment according to the law.

111. The directors and all other custom officials should hand over to the nearest Treasury the total amount of duty collected by them up to date on the 10th, 20th and end of each month respectively and obtain a proper receipt for the same. Such payments should be made in the above manner a day earlier if any of the aforesaid dates coincide with a public holiday.

112. In cases where the directors or other custom officials refrain from handing over the amount of duty on the specified dates (Item 111), they shall be removed from office for a period of two years if the amount in question does not exceed one thousand Afghani rupees, but if more shall not be eligible for re-employment for the rest of their lives.

113. The directors of customs should in all cases give a due receipt to the owner of any articles or goods for the amount of duty collected by them. In the said receipt the name of the owner with his father's name

and the description of goods should be clearly entered. If the merchant transports the said articles to some other place the director of that custom office to where the articles are consigned should examine and compare them with the receipt obtained by the merchant from the last custom office. He should let them pass without any hindrance if they are found to correspond with or be less than the contents of the original receipt. But in case some articles are found as are not entered in the receipt, and also if they do not bear the custom's stamp, such articles should be confiscated as a warning to others.

114. In cases where any article, whose actual duty according to the tariff amounts to one hundred Afghani rupees or more, is shown as less in the custom office, but on its going into the market is found to be in excess of the amount shown in the custom office, the director of the local custom office should, after fully investigating the case and proving the fact to his satisfaction, capture that article as a contraband and its owner an offender against customs regulations.

115. If the members of the commission of investigation inform any other directors of custom offices, that a certain number of contraband loads of merchandise have crossed or are about to cross a certain custom post or place, but their seizure is beyond the power of the members of the commission or the custom authorities, the director in question should, without delay, have recourse to the local Government authorities and obtain a sufficient number of horse and foot for the pursuit of the contraband loads of merchandise. The said loads with their means of transport should be confiscated and sold and the proceeds credited into the Treasury.

116. The custom officials can, without the assistance

of the police, search for suspected contraband merchandise, in Sarais or shops, but are not allowed to enter a private house for that purpose.

117. It is understood that a merchant, who had once paid the specified amount of duty on his articles of merchandise at any custom office, within Afghanistan, is free to transport those articles anywhere within the kingdom without paying a second duty on same articles. But if it happens that the director of another locality makes the mistake of taking the duty on those articles again, this amount is not to be refunded by the Government Treasury to the owner of those articles, but instead the director himself should pay the amount, unlawfully taken by him, to the said owner.

118. The customs passes (receipts) given by one custom office, should either be deposited in the custom office of the locality where the merchandise is taken or in the frontier custom post through which those merchandise are exported to foreign countries. The Provincial custom offices and posts should forward such custom passes to their central custom offices from where they should be forwarded to their respective revenue offices for purposes of audit and adjustment of customs accounts.

119. The duties on all imports and exports are put down in detail under their respective items. Articles newly introduced into the market are also liable to the same duty as that specified for those of the same nature and quality under the aforesaid items. If the directors or other custom officials cannot ascertain the nature of any of the newly-introduced article or goods, the matter should be duly referred to the Ministry of Trade and Commerce, and necessary instructions obtained from the said Ministry.

120. The Directors and other custom officials should realise the amount of duty in cash from the merchants or traders and consequently hand over the same to the Treasury on the fixed dates (Item 111).

121. In cases where any of the custom officials, without examining or charging the duty of same articles mentioned in the customs schedule, gives a pass to their owner, he shall be liable to expulsion from service and a fine equivalent to the amount of duty payable on those articles, while at the same time the said duty shall also be exacted from the merchant or owner of the said articles.

SOME OTHER CUSTOM REGULATIONS

122. As it is also our aim to provide necessary facilities and means for the welfare of merchants and traders at large or to remove their grievances and other various difficulties, therefore the traders and merchants are also expected to respect the rights of Public Treasury, which is nothing more but a safeguard of their own interests, and pay the tariff dues without any hesitation. In this manner, they would not only prove their love for the Fatherland, but also be fair and legitimate in their occupations.

123. The importers of foreign goods are free to pay the duty of their imported articles at any custom office they choose. But if, after paying the specified duty at one of the custom offices, they intend to transport them to some other locality where they can get higher prices for them, they shall have to pay an excess duty on the increased value of each article. A trader who, after paying the tariff dues on his merchandise, sells the whole lot or a part thereof to some other merchant, and the

latter intends to transport same articles to another locality the former should duly sign the custom pass (hitherto in his possession) and give it to the latter. The Directors or assistant Directors of Customs should examine the said pass, and after separating the articles to be transported to another locality by the original owner or the second buyer, give him the necessary pass to shift those articles to their destination. The above procedure may be followed whenever the articles in question change hands without exacting any more duty on them. But if the articles are transported to a place where they could be sold for a higher price they shall be liable to an excess duty on the increased value of each article at the custom office of the latter place.

124. All articles and goods to be exported are liable to an excess duty (Item 123) when passing a second central customs office.

125. All articles and goods liable to duty can be deposited free of charge in any customs office for a period of one month. But after the expiration of this stipulated period demurrage shall be charged at the rate of three pools per load per day.

126. The innkeepers and all other hands employed in the transport service or those in charge of opening the boxes and loads of merchandise should exercise the greatest care in handling merchandise and provide proper shelter against rain or snow for all boxes or loads entrusted to them otherwise the directors can, besides dismissing them, punish them with a fine ranging from one to twenty days' pay for laziness and carelessness.

127. If the Government authorities get suspicious, on receipt of a report on the misbehaviour of any of the custom officials, a thorough investigation of the case

should be held without delay. If the fact is proved the culprit shall be liable to punishment under the existing laws and regulations of the country for such offences.

128. The custom documents such as schedules, forms, receipts and passes, etc., are distinguished by their numbers. Their contents should never be scratched or defaced. If a writer makes a mistake he should draw a line across that word or sentence in such a manner that the crossed out word or sentence may be read, then re-write it correctly and obtain the Director's signature on it. If the contents of any of the documents, before it is shown to the Director, is scratched or defaced by him (the writer) he shall, for the first time, be liable to a fine equal to half his monthly salary, and a second time to one month's salary, and on the third occasion to dismissal from service (provided there is no loss to the Government), but if the Government sustains any loss, through his neglect or non-observance of the aforesaid rules, he shall be liable to dismissal from service and to payment of a fine equal to twice the amount of loss sustained by the Government.

129. Reports related to custom posts should be duly forwarded by their respective sub-directors to the Provincial or central custom department concerned.

130. The custom appraisers should give their apprisals without bias and declare exactly the current market price of each article or goods. If the article is valued below its market price (since it is a loss to the Public Treasury), the appraiser, on the first occasion, should be fined an amount equal to the difference between the actual price of the article and the price set by him. If he commits such an error again, twice the difference of price should

be obtained from him. On the third occasion he shall be liable to dismissal from service, as well as to a fine equal to thrice the aforesaid difference in prices. In cases where a customs appraiser values an article above its market price (which is a loss to the trader), the owner of that article should apply to the Director, who will nominate another appraiser in order to ascertain the actual value of same article. If it is proved that the article in question has been valued above its market price by the former appraiser, the difference in duty should be refunded to the said owner. In this latter case, the certification of the Director and other custom officials is essential.

131. All custom officials and inspectors of custom posts who succeed in finding and seizing any contraband may be granted one-tenth of the value of those articles, after deducting the specified custom duty on them, as a reward for their good services.

132. By the current market price of all imports is meant the wholesale value of any article and not its retail price, while in the case of exports their current price within the kingdom is to be reckoned and not their market value in the foreign countries.

133. If a merchant mixes goods liable to a higher duty with those liable to a lower rate of duty, and attempts to pass off the whole lot as the latter, the former shall be liable to confiscation, also a fine equal to half the market price of such goods bearing higher rate of duty shall be levied from the said merchant.

134. If anyone intends to export any of the home-spun textile piecegoods, he should pay their custom duty under the rules and regulations contained in Section II for such articles and goods. But if he sells them in

any of the cities within the country shall have to pay a duty of 7½ per cent. *ad valorem.* In cases where the owner has already paid the latter duty and then intends to export his merchandise, he shall have to pay the full amount of duty specified for these articles under Section II.

135. If the dutiable articles or goods of any person are not duly entered in a custom declaration and are found to be hidden under cars, lorries and carriages or in the boxes of motor cars, etc., which is not possible without the knowledge of the drivers of such cars or carriages, the said goods shall be confiscated and sold and the proceeds paid into the Treasury, while the driver of the car or carriage, etc., should be fined an amount equal to one-fifth of their market price.

136. In cases where the owner of some dutiable articles or goods does not take a custom declaration or pass from one of the Trade Agencies or customs offices and is found to have hidden them in boxes, parcels, bales or his personal beddings while transporting them by cars, lorries or carriages, etc., the drivers of these vehicles cannot be said to be implicated in such offences and only the articles or goods in question shall be confiscated.

137. If any of the nomad tribes of Afghan nationality, who come to Afghanistan in the beginning of each year, cannot obtain the custom declaration form for their dutiable articles from any of the Afghan Trade Agencies established abroad, they may show them to the custom officials at any of the frontier custom posts and obtain a pass for importing such articles or goods into the country. The prescribed custom duty shall be exacted at the local custom office after examining the contents of the

aforesaid pass, otherwise the goods in question shall be liable to confiscation.

138. If in future a packet or a box of cigarettes or cigars, etc., is found in any shop, not bearing the customs seal, it shall be liable to confiscation and a fine of 91 to 182 Afghani rupees shall be imposed upon the said shopkeeper.

139. If any contraband articles or goods are found on three different occasions, in a merchant's Sarai or a retailer's shop, on the fourth occasion, the merchant or retailer in question shall be liable to a fine from 182 to 364 Afghani rupees, besides the confiscation of the said articles or goods.

140. Those who seize contraband articles or goods and hand them over to the local custom office may be given half their market price, after deducting the specified custom duty on such articles, as a reward.

141. A surtax of one per cent. is to be charged on all imports and exports in order to meet the expenses incurred on the education of the masses. All the custom officials should show separately the income derived from the aforesaid tax while sending their accounts to their local custom offices concerned.

142. All drivers of cars or carriages, whether of foreign or Afghan nationality, should obtain a custom pass from an Afghan Trade Agency when entering Afghanistan.

143. The Directors or other custom officials are bound to examine the aforesaid pass (Item 142) and show the destination of the car or carriage therein.

144. The Directors or other custom officials are bound to put down the value of the imported cars or carriages, etc., with the name, nationality and place of residence of their driver in the custom schedule. If the driver is

not a well-known person he should be asked to produce a surety. If he (the driver intends to stay only ten days in Afghanistan he may be given a permit to do so, and the fact should be duly communicated to the municipality concerned.

145. The custom appraisers are to fix the market price of all sorts of cars, lorries and carriages imported for sale in Afghanistan and duties on them shall be charged accordingly.

146. Any Afghan Government official who is appointed to a post in a foreign country can take with him a cash sum equivalent to his monthly salary, while the officials of foreign countries residing in Afghanistan may on return to their respective countries take with them only three-quarters of their monthly pay in Afghan currency.

147. All pilgrims to Mecca and owners of transport animals can take with them Afghan currency in the following manner:—

(*a*) All pilgrims to Mecca or other sacred places:

		Afghani Rupees.
1st Class.	Those who have three servants	2,728
2nd Class.	Those who have two servants	2,182
3rd Class.	Those who have one servant or more	1,364
4th Class.	Per servant accompanying the persons	1,091

(*b*) The owners of transport animals can take with them 18 Afghani and 20 pools per animal.

148. The penalties laid down in this Code can be carried into effect by a unanimous decision of the

Director, sub-directors, head-clerk and first clerk of a custom department without reference to any court.

149. If a controversy arises with regard to a case other than those contained in this code, the matter should be referred to the Ministry of Commerce.

150. All the Directors and other custom officials of Afghanistan as well as the traders and merchants at large, are bound to obey strictly and abide by the laws and regulations contained herein.

INTERNAL COMMUNICATIONS

Highways

There are no railways in Afghanistan. The policy of the present Government is to connect the remotest parts of the country with the capital by means of motor roads. On 15th October, 1933, there were 900 miles of motor roads and 1,600 miles of roads fit for pack animals.

The following main roads radiate from Kabul:—

1. Kabul to the Indian frontier at Torkham in the Khaiber.
2. Kabul to Qandhar and thence to the Baluchistan frontier at Chaman.
3. Kabul to Mazar via Shikari Pass and thence to the Russian frontier at Sar-i-Pul.
4. Kabul to Gardez.
5. Kabul to Bamian.
6. Kabul to Sar Chashmah and Jau Kol in Hazarajat.

Other important motorable roads are:—

1. Qandhar to Herat.
2. Herat to Islam Qilla on the Persian frontier.
3. Herat to Maimanah, thence to Andkhui, Mazar, Khanabad and Badakhshan.
4. Ghazni to Gardez.
5. Ghazni to Dihzangi in Hazarahjat.

Minor roads connect these main roads to the chief towns of prefectures. Another high road from Kabul to Herat via Hazarajat and one from Kabul to Jellalabad are under construction.

Other important trade routes that are only fit for animal transport are:—

1. From Badkhshan via Panjshir to Kabul.
2. From Badkhshan via Chitral to India.
3. From Badakhshan via Nuristan to Jellalabad.
4. From Ghazni to India via Gomal Pass.
5. From Kabul to India via Paiwar Kotal and Kurram.

Waterways.

The rivers of Afghanistan are not fit for navigation with the exception of the Oxus, the navigation of which is in the hands of the Russians. Timber rafts and goat-skin and buffalo-skin rafts are floated down the Kabul River to the Indus.

Airways.

A fortnightly air service is maintained by a Russian concern between Kabul, Mazar, and Europe via Tashkend and Moscow. Aerodromes exist at Kabul, Mazar, Herat and Qandhar, while landing grounds are maintained at Ghazni, Kalat-i-Ghilzai, Jellalabad, Khanabad, Badakhshan, Gardez and Farah.

Posts, Telegraphs and Telephones.

Afghanistan is a member of the Postal and Telegraphic Unions. There were 1,080 post offices on 15th October, 1937, and they have conducted all kinds of postal business.

On the same date there were 800 miles of telegraph line and 600 miles of telephone line open. Wireless stations at Kabul and Mazar are in communication with

Peshawar in India and Tirmiz in Soviet Central Asia. Wireless stations have been erected in various parts of the country.

BANKING AND CURRENCY

Formerly all the banking business of the country was in the hands of Hindus and Jewish money-lenders. A few years ago the first bank in the country was founded under the name of The National Bank of Afghanistan (Shirkat-i-Ashami) with branches at Herat, Qandhar, Mazar, Khanabad, Jellalabad, Peshawar, Bombay, London, Paris and Berlin. It is not a State Bank, but has a monopoly of Government business. Various banking organizations have now been merged into the Afghan National Bank with offices in most of the European capitals.

The monetary system is on the silver standard. The unit is an Afghani weighing ten grammes of silver 900 fine, which is sub-divided into 100 púls.

The currency consists of:—

Copper:	1 Púl, 2 Púl, 10 Púl, 25 Púl pieces.
Bronze:	30 Púl piece.
Billon:	Half Afghani piece.
Silver:	Afghani.
Gold:	Tilla-i-Nadri (no fixed value).

There is no paper currency.

In addition to the above, the old currency is also in circulation, till it can be entirely replaced by the new. The unit is a Kabuli Rupee equal to 60 paisah. Eleven Kabuli rupees are equal to 10 Afghanis. The old coins frequently met with are:—

Bronze:	Abbasi or Tanga = $\frac{1}{3}$ rupee = 30 púl.
Silver:	Abbasi or Tanga = $\frac{1}{3}$ rupee = 30 púl.
	Qiran = $\frac{1}{2}$ rupee = 45 púl.

Kabuli Rupaiyah (rupee) = 91 púl.
Nim Sanad = 2½ rupee = 2.27 Afghanis.
Sanad = 5 rupees = 4.54 Afghanis.

WEIGHTS AND MEASURES

The metric system has now been adopted. The official names are:—

	Milligramme
	Centigramme
	Decigramme
Garam	Gramme
Lasgaram	Decagramme
Sal gram	Hectogramme
Zir gram = kilo	Kilogramme
Kantal	Cental
Tan	Tonne

The same prefixes are used for other measures:—

Metre	is called		Mitar
Are	,,	,,	Ar
Litre	,,	,,	Litar

The old measures varied from place to place. Those of Kabul are:—

Linear: 16 Girah = Gaz-i-Shah = 42 inches.
Land: Gaz = 29½ ,,
4,000 Gaz = Karoh = 1 m., 6 fur., 198 yds.
9 sq. Gaz = 1 Biswasah
20 Biswasah = 1 Biswah = about 121 sq. yds.
3,600 sq. Gaz = 20 Biswah = Jarib = 2,417$\frac{9}{25}$ sq. yds.

Weight :—

24 Nakhud	= Mithqal	= about 92 grain.
6 Mithqal	= 1 Pukhtah bar	= 1 oz.
4 Pukhtah bar	= 1 Khurd	= 4 ozs.
4 Khurd	= 1 Pao	= 1 lb.
4 Pao	= 1 Charak	= 4 lbs.
4 Charak	= 1 Ser	= 16 lbs.
8 Ser	= 1 Man	= 1 cwt., 16 lbs.
10 Man	= 1 Kharwar	= 11 cwts., 1 qr., 20 lbs.

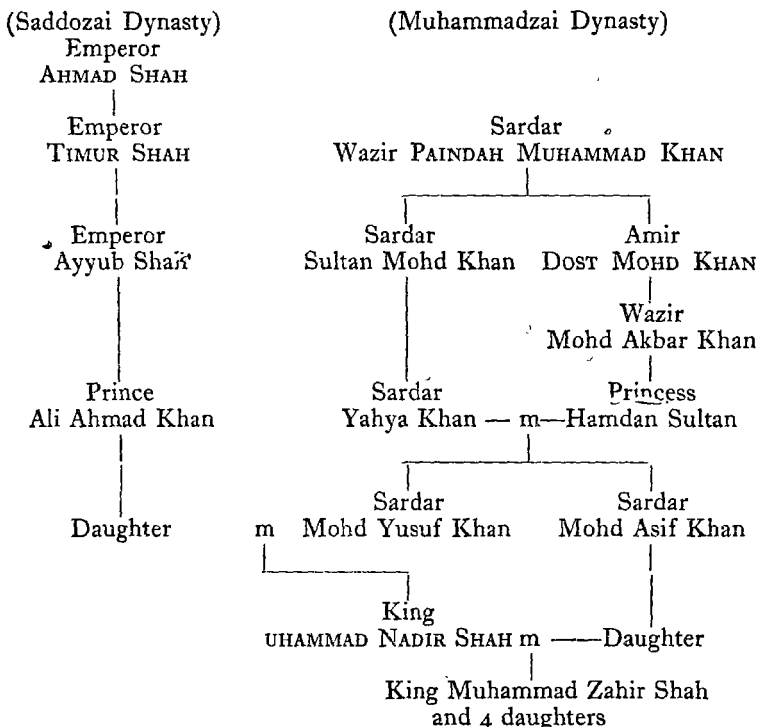
DIPLOMATIC REPRESENTATIVES

Of Afghanistan in Great Britain:—

Envoy and Minister: Ali Muhammad Khan.

There is an Afghan Consul-General at the Headquarters of the Government of India, Consuls at Bombay and Karachi, and Visa Officers at Peshawar and Chaman.

THE AFGHAN KING'S DYNASTY



Children:—

I. King Muhammad Zahir Shah, born in 1914, married 7th November, 1931, his cousin, Lady Umarah, daughter of Sardar Ahmad Shah Khan. Offspring:—

(1) Princess Bilqis, born 1932.
(2) Prince Muhammad Akbar Khan, born 10th August, 1933.

II. Princess Zahirah, born 1915.
III. Princess Zainab, born 1919.
IV. Princess Sultanah, born 1920.
V. Princess Bilquis, born 1922.

Living brothers of the King:—

I. Sardar Muhammad Hashim Khan.

II. Sardar Shah Wali Khan, married 1920, Princess Safriah, daughter of Amir Habibullah Khan. Offspring:—

(1) Sardar Ahmad Wali Khan, born 1921.
(2) Sardar Abdul Wali Khan, born 1925.
(3) Sardar Wali Shah Khan, born 10th July, 1926.

III. Sardar Shah Jahmud Khan, married 1920, Princess Safurah, daughter of Amir Habibullah Khan. Offspring:—

(1) Lady Qamar Sultan Begum, born 1921.
(2) Sardar Zalmai Khan, born 1923.
(3) Sardar Sultan Mahmud Khan, born 1925.
(4) Lady Aliah Begum, born 1926.
(5) Lady Umairah Begum, born 1927.
(6) Lady Nazifah Begum, born 20th July, 1928.
(7) Lady Latifah Begum, born 12th August, 1930.
(8) Sardar Shah 'Abdul Azim Khan, born 25th August, 1932.

Deceased brothers:—

I. Sardar Muhammad Aziz Khan, murdered at Berlin. Offspring:—

(1) Sardar Muhammad Daud Khan, born 1909.
(2) Sardar Muhammad Naim Khan, born 1910.
(3) Lady 'Ayshah Jan, born 1920.